The Ancient Word

BAAL AND THE POLITICS OF POETRY

Aaron Tugendhaft

ROUTLEDGE

Baal and the Politics of Poetry

"Aaron Tugendhaft's book comes as a very welcome contribution. For he means to overturn the standard interpretation of the well-known ancient Ugaritic poem about the god Baal, which sees it as a myth establishing the kingship of Baal in heaven, bringing cosmic order by defeating the enemy deities who would disrupt it. For Tugendhaft, rather, the poem is a meditation on kingship, divine as well as human, and its limitations; it has an open ending, leaving the establishment of a firm sovereignty, whether of Baal or another deity, up in the air. Tugendhaft makes a compelling case, which should provoke serious discussion. Based on an insightful scrutiny of the ancient evidence, it is a case that, as he shows, is relevant on a much wider scale as well: indeed, for the very nature of myth in modern as well as ancient culture."

Peter Machinist, Harvard University, USA

Baal and the Politics of Poetry provides a thoroughly new interpretation of the Ugaritic Baal Cycle that simultaneously inaugurates an innovative approach to studying ancient Near Eastern literature within the political context of its production. The book argues that the poem, written in the last decades of the Bronze Age, takes aim at the reigning political-theological norms of its day and uses the depiction of a divine world to educate its audience about the nature of human politics. By attuning ourselves to the specific historical context of this one poem, we can develop a more nuanced appreciation of how poetry, politics, and religion have interacted – in antiquity and beyond.

Aaron Tugendhaft is Collegiate Assistant Professor of the Humanities and Harper Fellow in the Society of Fellows in the Liberal Arts at the University of Chicago, Illinois, USA.

The Ancient Word
Series editor: Seth Sanders
Professor of Religious Studies, University of California, Davis, USA

For a full list of titles in this series, please visit www.routledge.com/classicalstudies/series/ANCWORD

"The Ancient Word" is dedicated to publishing exciting, broadly relevant new research in ancient Near Eastern and biblical studies. Each book represents an advance both philologically, in our understanding of ancient sources, and intellectually, in providing fresh ways to think about what the remote past means. Herder once imagined an "archive of paradise" containing the first writing in the world from its oldest civilization: primordial texts holding the keys to understanding our formation. In unearthing the remains of the ancient Near East, we have something like this archive – but it remains mostly unread. Herder's bold search has been replaced with safer techniques, from sweeping theories of oral vs. literate societies to reductive legitimation theories that boil culture down to power. This series showcases fresh work that helps unlock this archive's potential.

Forthcoming titles:

Baal and the Politics of Poetry
Aaron Tugendhaft

Beyond Orality
Performance and the Composition of Biblical Poetry
Jacqueline Vayntrub

Cuneiform Culture and the Ancestors of Hebrew
Alice Mandell

Baal and the Politics of Poetry

Aaron Tugendhaft

Routledge
Taylor & Francis Group
LONDON AND NEW YORK

First published 2018
by Routledge
2 Park Square, Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon OX14 4RN

and by Routledge
711 Third Avenue, New York, NY 10017

Routledge is an imprint of the Taylor & Francis Group, an informa business

© 2018 Aaron Tugendhaft

The right of Aaron Tugendhaft to be identified as author of this work has been asserted by him in accordance with sections 77 and 78 of the Copyright, Designs and Patents Act 1988.

All rights reserved. No part of this book may be reprinted or reproduced or utilized in any form or by any electronic, mechanical, or other means, now known or hereafter invented, including photocopying and recording, or in any information storage or retrieval system, without permission in writing from the publishers.

Trademark notice: Product or corporate names may be trademarks or registered trademarks, and are used only for identification and explanation without intent to infringe.

British Library Cataloguing-in-Publication Data
A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data
Names: Tugendhaft, Aaron, author.
Title: Baal and the politics of poetry / Aaron Tugendhaft.
Description: Abingdon, Oxon : New York, NY, 2018. | Series: The ancient word | Includes bibliographical references and index.
Identifiers: LCCN 2017023855 | ISBN 9781138063624 (hardback : alk. paper) | ISBN 9781315160894 (ebook)
Subjects: LCSH: Baal cycle. | Baal (Canaanite deity) | Inscriptions, Semitic—Ugarit (Extinct city) | Ugaritic language—Texts. | Ugarit (Extinct city)—Religion. | Politics in literature.
Classification: LCC BL1671 .T84 2018 | DDC 892/.67—dc23
LC record available at https://lccn.loc.gov/2017023855

ISBN: 978-1-138-06362-4 (hbk)
ISBN: 978-1-315-16089-4 (ebk)

Typeset in Times New Roman
by Apex CoVantage, LLC

Contents

	List of illustrations	vii
	Series editor's preface	ix
	Acknowledgements	xi
	Abbreviations	xiii
	Late Bronze Age Kings	xv
	Introduction	1
1	Baal and the modern study of myth	11
2	The Baal Cycle and Bronze Age politics	27
3	Divine combat as political discourse at Mari	47
4	The politics of time	63
5	Unsettling sovereignty	79
6	Kinship contested	101
	Conclusion	125
	*Appendix: The Envoy Scene (*KTU *1.2 I 11–46)*	135
	Bibliography	137
	Index	159

Taylor & Francis
Taylor & Francis Group
http://taylorandfrancis.com

Illustrations

0.1	Engraving of the open-air sanctuary at Yazılıkaya from Charles Texier, *Description de l'Asie mineure faite par l'ordre du gouvernement français, de 1833 à 1837*	2
0.2	Rock relief of Tudhaliya IV at Yazılıkaya	3
0.3	Royal seal of king Muwattali II	4
0.4	Edict of Tudhaliya IV (RS 17.159)	9
2.1	Map of Tell Ras Shamra showing archaeological finds related to Ilimilku	32
2.2	"Ilimilku's network"	35
5.1	Second tablet of the Baal Cycle (RS 3.367 recto)	80
6.1	The Middle Assyrian Kingdom	104
6.2	Treaty stele from Ugarit (RS 7.116)	118

Taylor & Francis
Taylor & Francis Group
http://taylorandfrancis.com

Series editor's preface

Aaron Tugenfhaft's *Baal and the Politics of Poetry* asks no less a question than why ancient Near Eastern literature is worth reading, beyond its interest as "background" to the Bible or history. He first places the Ugaritic Baal Epic in the history of scholarship to show how it was mistakenly consigned, alongside most other ancient Near Eastern art, to the far side of a radical break with myth that supposedly brought us Western civilization. But as we are constantly forced to relearn, there has been no radical break: our politics is still driven by imagination. And the Baal epic addresses the relationship between the two: both in its artistic techniques and contents, it was critically engaged with the politics of its time. Like Francesca Rochberg, who shows the profound significance of Babylonian science for understanding science more broadly precisely by setting it in its radically non-western context, Tugendhaft's careful historical study reveals the Baal epic's broader political relevance by demonstrating its intense engagement with the Late Bronze Age.

The book's lesson is that politics is often in a vital way conducted mythologically and poetically; beyond simply a political discourse ("ideology in narrative form" in Bruce Lincoln's reduction), myth has often been the deployment of poetry in contests over power: definitions of order and who participates in it. As philosophers like Martha Nussbaum have argued that rational thought must take profound cues from emotion, Tugendhaft shows that political critique must be conducted mythologically and poetically, as well as practically and theoretically, to be most effective.

Professor Seth Sanders
University of California Davis, USA

Taylor & Francis
Taylor & Francis Group
http://taylorandfrancis.com

Acknowledgements

This work was first conceived in Leiden, a town famed for standing strong against imperial forces. I must thank Eric Schliesser for his philosophical probing, which helped me to see that the Ugaritic Baal Cycle was no standard piece of Bronze Age political propaganda. I hope that I have succeeded in filling in the philological details that give grounding to the intuitions we came to that evening in the summer of 2009.

I have accrued many debts in the years since. First, I want to thank Mark Smith for ushering me into the world of ancient Ugarit and for his open-mindedness and generosity of spirit in championing this project. I must also thank Daniel Fleming, who took a chance on me at a critical moment, and Laura Slatkin, who has been a constant source of guidance and support for nearly two decades. Had it not been for the love of Homeric poetry that Laura instilled in me as an undergraduate, I never would have embarked on the study of its Ugaritic cousin. I also want to especially thank Seth Sanders for accepting this study as the inaugural title in Routledge's Ancient World series and for his careful editorial reading of the manuscript.

The process of research and writing was assisted and made more pleasurable thanks to several communities: the Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten (NINO), where I worked for seven months in 2010; the Humanities Initiative at NYU, where I was a graduate fellow during the 2010–11 academic year; the members of the research group "Mondes sémitiques" of the Centre national de la recherche scientifique (CNRS), who welcomed me in Paris in the spring of 2012; the W. F. Albright Institute for Archaeological Research in Jerusalem, which awarded me a National Endowment for the Humanities fellowship; and Distant Worlds: Munich Graduate School in Ancient Studies at the Ludwig Maximilian University, where I held a postdoctoral fellowship from 2013–14. I would like to thank Walther Sallaberger for inviting me to teach courses on Ugarit for the Institut für Assyriologie und Hethitologie during my stay in Munich.

Portions of this study have appeared in print as "On *ym* and ^{d}a.ab.ba at Ugarit," *Ugarit-Forschungen* 42 (2010 [2011]): 697–712; "Politics and Time in the Baal

Cycle," *Journal of Ancient Near Eastern Religions* 12 (2012): 145–57; "Unsettling Sovereignty: Politics and Poetics in the Baal Cycle," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 132 (2012): 367–84; and "How to Become a Brother in the Bronze Age: An Inquiry into the Representation of Politics in Ugaritic Myth," *Fragments* 2 (2012): 89–104. I am grateful to the publishers for permission to draw from these publications in this book.

Numerous colleagues and friends read and commented on portions of this book or otherwise provided valuable assistance at various stages of the project. I would like to thank Gary Beckman, Brendon Benz, Yoram Cohen, Jerrold Cooper, Lorenzo d'Alfonso, Sophie Démare-Lafont, Elena Devecchi, Manfried Dietrich, James Nathan Ford, Amir Gilan, Shai Gordin, Holger Gzella, Ben Haring, Robert Hawley, Theo Krispijn, Mark Lilla, Bruce Lincoln, Carolina López-Ruiz, Peter Machinist, Jared Miller, Glenn Most, Alice Mouton, Jana Mynářová, Dennis Pardee, Darya Pevear-Volokhonsky, Laurie Pierce, Hervé Reculeau, Francesca Rochberg, Carole Roche-Hawley, JoAnn Scurlock, George Shulman, Marc Van De Mieroop, Theo van den Hout, Wilfred van Soldt, Niek Veldhuis, Abraham Winitzer, and Rachel Wong. I am particularly grateful to Eva von Dassow, whose intellectual generosity and insightful prodding improved this project immeasurably. Special gratitude is owed to Itamar Singer (z"l), who generously corresponded with me by email and read chapters before ever meeting me; it was an honor to be able to present him with a copy of my dissertation at his home in Israel shortly before he passed away. And finally, I have learned more from Alexander Bick, Daniel Doneson, Josh Ellenbogen, Brickey LeQuire, Hugh Liebert, and David Possen than I could possibly express – and I am grateful to them all for humoring me when I would go off about the fragmentary poetry of a forgotten ancient city.

Abbreviations

Bibliographic abbreviations and other sigla accord with those employed in *Archiv für Orientforschung*, with the following additions and changes:

COS	*The Context of Scripture*. Edited by William W. Hallo and K. Lawson Younger, Jr. 3 vols. Leiden: Brill, 1997–2003.
DULAT	Gregorio del Olmo Lete and Joaquín Sanmartín. *A Dictionary of the Ugaritic Language in the Alphabetic Tradition*. Second Revised Edition. 2 vols. Translated by Wilfred G. E. Watson. Leiden: Brill, 2004.
KTU	*The Cuneiform Alphabetic Texts from Ugarit, Ras Ibn Hani and Other Places*. Third, enlarged edition. Edited by Manfried Dietrich, Oswald Loretz, and Joaquín Sanmartín. AOAT 360. Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 2013.
LAPO 16	Jean-Marie Durand. *Les documents épistolaires du palais de Mari*. Vol. 1. LAPO 16. Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1997.
LAPO 18	Jean-Marie Durand. *Les documents épistolaires du palais de Mari*. Vol. 3. LAPO 18. Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 2000.
RSO VI	*Arts et industries de la pierre*. Edited by Marguerite Yon. Ras-Shamra Ougarit VI. Paris: Éditions Recherche sur les Civilisations, 1991.
RSO VII	*Une bibliothèque au sud de la Ville*. Edited by Pierre Bordreuil. Ras Shamra-Ougarit VII. Paris: Éditions Recherche sur les Civilisations, 1991.
RSO XIV	*Études ougaritiques: I. Travaux 1985–1995*. Edited by Maguerrite Yon and Daniel Arnaud. Ras Shamra-Ougarit XIV. Paris: Éditions Recherche sur les Civilisations, 2001.
RSO XVIII	*Une Bibliothèque au sud de la ville***. Textes 1994–2002 en cunéiforme alphabétique de la maison d'Ourtenou*. Edited by Pierre Bordreuil and Dennis Pardee, with Robert Hawley. Lyon: Maison de l'Orient et de la Méditerranée, 2012.

RSO XXIII	*Lettres en Akkadien de la* "*Maison d'Urtēnu*." *Fouilles de 1994*. Edited by Sylvie Lackenbacher and Florence Malbran-Labat. Leuven: Peeters, 2016.
UBC 1	Mark S. Smith. *The Ugaritic Baal Cycle*. Vol. 1: *Introduction with Text, Translation and Commentary of KTU 1.1–1.2*. VTSup 55. Leiden: Brill, 1994.
UBC 2	Mark S. Smith and Wayne Pitard. *The Ugaritic Baal Cycle*. Vol. 2: *Introduction with Text, Translation and Commentary of KTU/CAT 1.3–1.4*. VTSup 114. Leiden: Brill, 2009.
UNP	*Ugaritic Narrative Poetry*. Edited by Simon B. Parker. SBLWAW 9. Atlanta: Scholars, 1997.

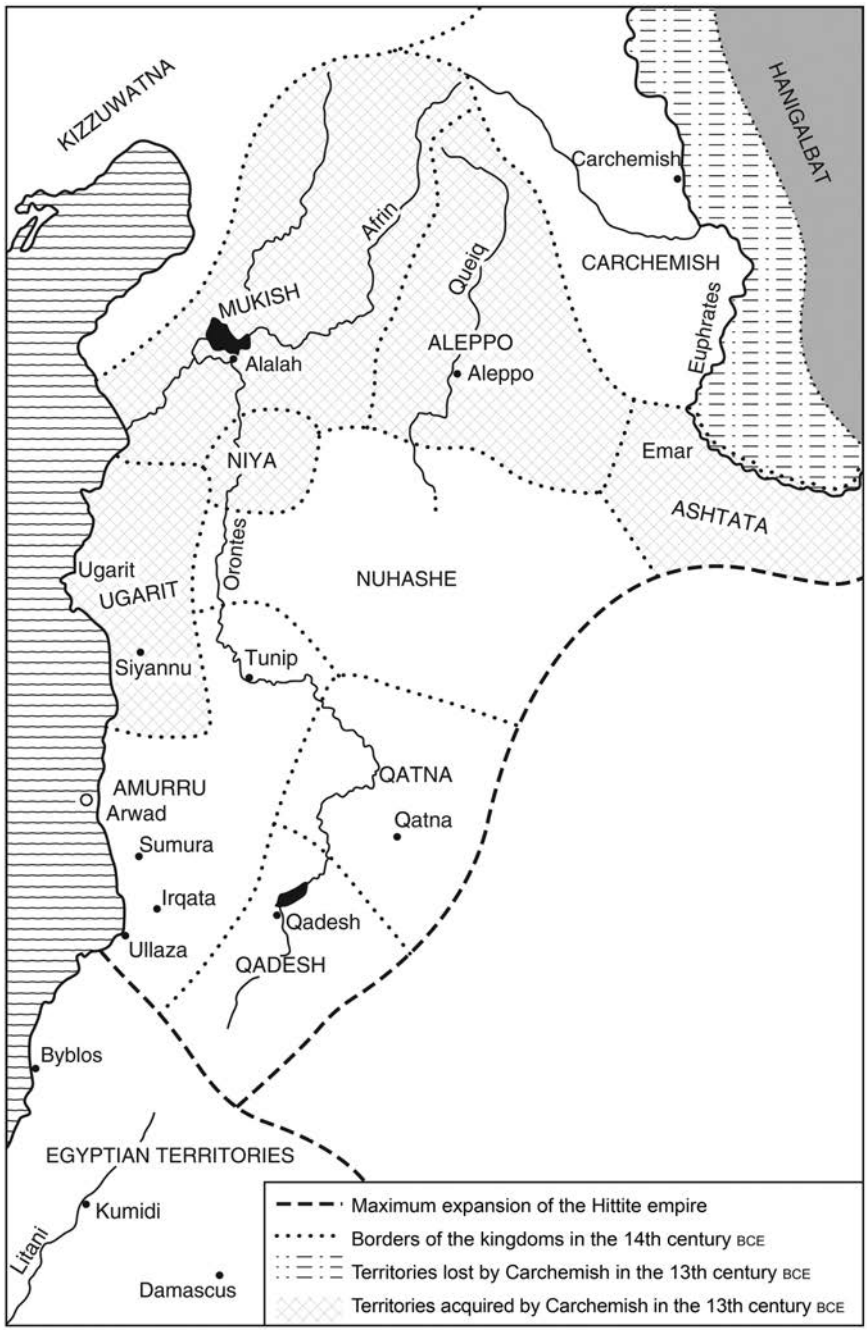
Late Bronze Age Kings

Egypt	*Amurru*	*Ugarit*	*Assyria*	*Hatti*
Amenhotep III 1390–1352	Abdi-Ashirta	Ammistamru I ? – ca. 1350		
Akhenaten 1352–1336	Aziru	Niqmaddu II ca. 1350–1315	Assur-uballit 1353–1318	Suppiluliuma I ca. 1344–1322
Tutenkhamen 1336–1327				
				Arnuwanda II 1322–1321
Horemheb 1323–1295		Ar-Halba ca. 1315–1313		Mursili II 1321–1295
		Niqmepa ca. 1313–1260		
	Benteshina		Adad-nirari I 1295–1264	Muwatalli II 1295–1272
Ramses II 1279–1213	Shabili			Mursili III (Urhi-Teshub) ca. 1272–1267
	Benteshina			Hattusili III 1267–1237
		Ammistamru II ca. 1260–1235	Shalmaneser I 1263–1234	
	Shaushgamuwa	Ibiranu ca. 1235–1225/20	Tukulti-Ninurta 1233–1197	Tudhaliya IV 1237–1209
		Niqmaddu III ca. 1225/20–1215		
Merneptah 1213–1203	Mahaza	Ammurapi ca. 1215–1190/85		Arnuwanda III 1209–1207
Ramses III 1184–1153				Suppiluliuma II 1207–1178

Taylor & Francis
Taylor & Francis Group
http://taylorandfrancis.com

Map 1 The near East in the Late Bronze Age

Adapted from Trevor Bryce, *Letters of the Great Kings* (Routledge), Map 1.



Map 2 Hittite territories in Syria, ca. 1350–1190 BCE

From M. Liverani, *The Ancient Near East* (Routledge 2014), Figure 19.5.

Introduction

On July 28, 1834, Félix Marie Charles Texier set out, Strabo in hand, to find the ancient city of Tavium, famed for its colossal bronze statue of Zeus. The Frenchman was on a scientific *voyage d'exploration* in Anatolia at the behest of his monarch, Louis Philippe I, the last king of France. Near the village of Boğazköy, Texier happened upon the ruins of a major settlement – but it was not Tavium. What he found instead were the remains of an imperial city unmentioned by any classical historian: Hattusa, capital of the Hittites. After Texier had taken stock of palace and temple, a local guide led him to a concealed open-air sanctuary nestled between rock outcroppings east of the ancient city. Texier describes how

> when, after following a bend in the rock, I found myself in front of this masterpiece of primitive barbarian art I could not hide my admiration, and I rewarded the guide to whom I owed this discovery with a gift (*baksheesh*).[1]

The graduate of the École des Beaux-Arts had come upon the monumental relief carvings known locally as Yazılıkaya (Figure 0.1).

Among the stone sculptures of Yazılıkaya is a relief of a human figure in the embrace of a god (Figure 0.2). Both figures face the viewer's left. The deity, distinctly taller, is wrapping his left arm around the shoulder of his companion, simultaneously grasping the latter's right arm at the wrist. Each figure is identified by a hieroglyphic inscription, one over the hand of the deity and the other – the royal cartouche – in the upper-right corner of the relief. Unintelligible to Texier, these inscriptions have since been deciphered. They identify the smaller figure as Tudhaliya IV (reigned ca. 1237–1209 BCE), the antepenultimate Great King of Hatti, and his larger guide as the king's patron deity, Sharruma. On the outskirts of the imperial capital, the divine supervision enjoyed by Hatti's human king was set permanently in stone.

The scene of divine embrace that Texier happened upon at Yazılıkaya appears elsewhere in Hittite royal iconography, most commonly on royal seals. The earliest attested exemplar is found on a bulla dating to the reign of Muwatalli II (ca. 1295–1272 BCE) depicting the king protected by the Great Storm-god (Figure 0.3).

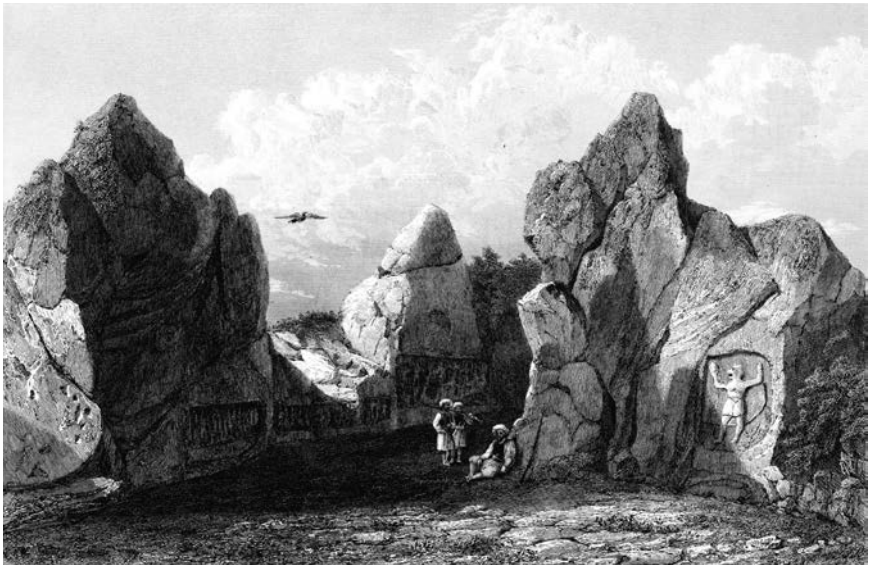


Figure 0.1 Engraving of the open-air sanctuary at Yazılıkaya from Charles Texier, *Description de l'Asie mineure faite par l'ordre du gouvernement français, de 1833 à 1837*

Source: Paris, Institut de France, 1839.

Impressions containing the motif are also known from seals belonging to Mursili III (aka Urhi-Teshub; ca. 1272–1267 BCE) and Tudhaliya IV.[2] When used on letters and edicts, these seals literally impressed the divine benefaction enjoyed by Hittite kings upon the documents of imperial administration and, by extension, upon the audiences of those documents. Hittite subjects were made to see that the gods favored the king's reign.[3]

Such divine love provided warrant for the king to rule the land. In a Hittite ritual, a priest prays for "the king [to] be dear to the gods!"[4] After entreating the gods for their love, the priest depicts an idealized vision of the relationship between the gods and Hittite political institutions:

> The land belongs to the storm-god alone. Heaven, earth, and the people belong to the storm-god alone. He has made the king his administrator and given him the entire Land of Hatti. The king shall continue to administer with his hand the entire land. May the storm-god destroy whoever should approach the person of the king, and the borders (of Hatti).[5]

The proper earthly order, the priest declares, originates in the god's decision to appoint the king as his representative. He has done so out of love for the human king. It is thanks to divine love that the king administrates the god's land.

Figure 0.2 Rock relief of Tudhaliya IV at Yazılıkaya
Source: Photo courtesy of Alamy.

Figure 0.3 Royal seal of king Muwattali II
Source: Photo courtesy of Hatice Gonnet Hittite Collection, Koç University.

It is curious, therefore, that in the contemporaneous Ugaritic poem known as the Baal Cycle, the hero is never said to enjoy divine favor. Rather, Baal's two enemies, Yamm and Mot, are the ones repeatedly designated as "beloved of El." And yet despite their beloved status, both Yamm and Mot are defeated. Unlike the Hittite king, Baal wins victory without divine approval.

In light of Late Bronze Age conceptions of sovereignty, the contrast with the Hittite king is remarkable. Though Baal is a god and the Hittite ruler is human, both figures occupy a similar structural position with respect to a higher patriarchal god. And yet Baal achieves power without that god's love. The language of belovedness in the Ugaritic poem would have evoked contemporary ideas about divine favor and political success while subverting standard expectations. These resonances would have further played on the fact that the names El and Baal simply mean "god" and "master" in Ugaritic. One need not treat the rapport between the two deities as a rigid allegory of a king to his god (in what follows, I do not) to appreciate how the poem uses such devices to announce its theme.

And so we may ask: What is this poem up to in depicting its hero as victorious despite being unloved? What are the implications of this depiction for understanding the relationship between the divine order and earthly political power? And why might a poem like this have been produced at Ugarit at the end of the Bronze Age? These are the questions that motivate this study. In addressing them, I hope not only to offer a compelling new reading of the Baal Cycle, but also to make this poem available to broader theoretical reflection on the roles poetry can play within political life. Especially because, as a poem about the gods, the

Baal Cycle does not conform to common assumptions about ancient religion and its political purpose.

The poetic texts from Ugarit stand out among works of ancient literature in that they were dug up side by side with diplomatic treaties, edicts, and political correspondence that attest to contemporary political thought and historical events. This nonliterary material makes it possible to consider the relationship between poetry and political life in a way unthinkable for textually more isolated works like the Homeric poems and the *Mahabharata*. The reading presented in this book should therefore be of interest beyond the limited circle of those concerned with the interpretation of Ugaritic literature. The richness of the contextual sources surrounding the Baal Cycle renders this fragmentary poem from a peripheral Bronze Age city an excellent locus for studying the dynamic relationship between audience and text that can emerge in the play between political ideals, historical experience, and literary representation.

Ugarit was a cosmopolitan center strategically located on the Mediterranean coast of Syria at the crossroads of numerous important trade routes. Thanks to excavations begun by a French team in the 1920s, much of the city has been recovered – along with thousands of documents in eight different languages. Ugarit flourished throughout most of the second millennium BCE, but most of what we know about the city occurred during the Late Bronze Age (ca. 1550–1200 BCE). This was a period characterized by the interaction of powerful territorial kingdoms: Egypt, Hatti, Mitanni (later Assyria), and Babylonia. Through the exchange of letters, gifts, and women, the "Great Kings" of the day maintained an international symbolic order of unprecedented extent.

Dotted throughout this vast territory, but especially in border areas, smaller kingdoms worked to maintain themselves. Ugarit was one such kingdom. Situated in the border zone between Egyptian and Hittite spheres of influence, Ugarit at times served one master, at times another. The city entered into a vassal relationship with the Hittite king Suppiluliuma I (ca. 1344–1322 BCE) that endured, for better or worse, until the collapse of the Hittite state and the destruction of the city of Ugarit in the early twelfth century – events that belong to the set of phenomena that mark the end of the Bronze Age. It was toward the later end of this period of Hittite suzerainty that the Baal Cycle was written.

The six clay tablets of the poem labeled "Of Baal" by its scribe, Ilimilku, were written in the Ugaritic vernacular using an alphabetic cuneiform script. The protagonists include the storm-god Baal, the sea-god Yamm, and a god of the underworld named Mot. Also central to the story are the husband and wife deities El and Athirat of the generation older than Baal, Yamm, and Mot. A female warrior goddess named Anat, a craftsman deity named Kothar, a sun-goddess named Shapsh, and a handful of minor characters round out the cast.

The storyline can be divided into three principal episodes, corresponding roughly to the first two, middle two, and final two tablets: a struggle between

Baal and Yamm, the negotiations for and building of Baal's palace, and a struggle between Baal and Mot. In the first tablet Baal is subordinate to Yamm, seemingly in accord with El's wishes. New epigraphic analysis has helped clarify the plot of the second tablet. Following a battle in which Baal defeats Yamm, the other gods then declare Baal king. Yamm later sends an envoy to El in an attempt to humble Baal.[6]

In the second pair of tablets we find Baal lamenting that, unlike the sons of Athirat, he has no palace. This leads to a series of negotiations and monetary enticements by which he is ultimately able to obtain El's permission to have a palace built. Kothar's construction of Baal's palace is then recounted in detail. Finally, the third pair of tablets tells of a second major battle, this time between Baal and Mot. Initially Mot is successful, leading El and Anat to mourn Baal's death. Eventually, however, Shapsh brokers a settlement in which Mot agrees to release Baal, who then returns to his rule on Mount Saphon. The poem ends with a hymn to Shapsh.

Because Ugaritic is closely related to biblical Hebrew and because the most striking Ugaritic texts discovered deal with gods known also from the Hebrew Bible, from its discovery Ugaritic literature quickly became the preserve of professional biblical scholars. This naturally led to an emphasis on diachronic questions of transmission and influence over synchronic questions about the poem's meaning within the culture of ancient Ugarit. This book works to correct this tendency by reading the Baal Cycle in light of the thousands of more prosaic texts excavated near it. I turn in particular to Late Bronze Age diplomatic letters, royal decrees, and political treaties. Though many of these documents have been known for decades, this book also makes use of Akkadian texts from the House of Urtenu published as recently as the summer of 2016.

Though I believe this shift in method is worthwhile in its own right and as a model for how to read ancient myths contextually, the payoff with regard to the Baal Cycle goes further. By placing Baal's struggle for kingship among the gods alongside these documents attesting to contemporary politico-theological norms, it becomes possible to see how the poem, rather than providing a picture of politics that would reinforce its audience's commitment to reigning norms, actually complicates that commitment. It does so by representing political relationships that do not conform to standard ideologies about authority and sovereignty. Neither a work of primitive science nor simply a vehicle for political ideology, the Baal Cycle offered its audience a means to take a critical stance toward contemporary political institutions and opened a space for them to reflect upon the workings of power, authority, and legitimacy. The poem offers less a *reflection of* its world than a guide for *reflecting upon* it.

To say that a poem about the gods, usually called a myth, is a vehicle for reflection immediately raises questions about the nature of myth and its relationship to reason. These questions have been central throughout the Western intellectual

tradition, and it is important to be clear about where my study sits in relation to that tradition. This is especially so because past interpretations of the Baal Cycle have often been influenced by assumptions about what a myth must be. I take up this question in detail in Chapter 1.

The following two chapters lay a foundation for reading the Baal Cycle within the context of its Bronze Age political environment. Chapter 2 discusses issues of authorship and how the poem establishes an international political horizon that aligns with realities of the thirteenth century BCE. Chapter 3 switches focus to the Old Babylonian Period (ca. 1800 BCE) to discuss a prophetic text (Mari A. 1968) that has often been invoked as a key for understanding the politics of the Baal Cycle. The chapter provides a thorough historical contextualization of Adad's prophecy that challenges common interpretations of this often-cited text. I argue against drawing facile parallels between the Mari prophecy and the Baal Cycle that ignore the historical specificity of each text and oversimplify the ways divine combat could be evoked in Bronze Age political discourse.

Chapters 4 through 6 take up the Ugaritic poem's engagement with the principal means by which power was legitimated in the Late Bronze Age: cosmogony, hierarchy, and kinship. Chapter 4 considers the poem's most famous passage, Baal's combat with the sea-god Yamm, to show how the poem subverts the conventional contemporary understanding of the relationship between cosmogony and political order. Chapter 5 builds upon this theme with a close reading of a passage in which the gods confront each other within an assembly, making competing claims to authority. I show how the poem uses internal tensions and contradictions, as well as allusions to contemporary political practices, to suggest to its audience that the hierarchical structures of Bronze Age political institutions do not rest upon natural foundations; rather, these are merely the product of claims to authority that lack any fundamental ground. Chapter 6 turns to the Late Bronze Age's most ubiquitous framework for political order: the patrimonial household. I compare the use of kinship terminology in the poem to kings calling each other "brother" in the world outside the text. The chapter thus shows how the Ugaritic poem thematizes the use of kinship as a valid justification for political domination.

By the end of the thirteenth century, the Hittite empire was suffering from a crisis of legitimacy that had been ushered in by a questionable usurpation of the throne and significant military defeats at the hands of the upstart Assyrians. In the face of these challenges, Hittite kings developed ever more emphatic claims to the divine foundations of their kingship. In the conclusion, I consider how the Baal Cycle's critique of Bronze Age political theology can be understood as the flip side of this Hittite emphasis on divine right.

The basic political theology that grounded Hittite kingship in divine favor was shared throughout the ancient Near East during the Bronze Age – including the kingdom of Ugarit. In depicting politics as he does, Ilimilku was not just objecting to Hittite claims of domination over Ugarit. The structure of his critique necessarily

also called into question age-old Ugaritic ways of framing political legitimacy. (This holds even if one is resistant to accepting Ilimilku as the author of the Baal Cycle, because at the very least he considered it prudent to disseminate the poem through writing it down and presenting it to his king.) Coming to terms with the Baal Cycle requires coming to terms with a form of poetry that generates a critical stance toward political norms rather than one that seeks to obfuscate those norms' foundations. The wisdom one gains from the Baal Cycle applies to politics as such. That this wisdom was conveyed indirectly in the form of a story and not presented directly as in a treatise may itself reflect part of Ilimilku's political wisdom.

I hope that this book will, in addition to offering a new interpretation of the Baal Cycle and providing a model for reading ancient literary texts in tandem with contemporary political documents, unsettle lingering assumptions about ancient Near Eastern thought and its place in the Western intellectual tradition. The recent revival of the Axial Age hypothesis, discussed in Chapter 1, suggests that we have not yet successfully overcome the idea that Greek philosophy and biblical monotheism are watersheds in the progressive development of thought. Despite the steadfast work of philologists and ancient historians over the past half-century, common perceptions of the three millennia of cuneiform history as a unified intellectual whole have not budged much since Henri Frankfort's influential popularizing works of the 1940s. This is particularly disheartening in light of academia's recent upsurge of interest in questions of political theology.

The cuneiform world has much to contribute to our understanding of the various ways the divine has been harnessed to the political, but it can do so meaningfully only if the variety and historical specificity of its engagement with these issues are recognized. The fact that (most of) the cuneiform record was composed in ignorance of Greek philosophy and biblical monotheism does not render it an intellectually homogenous prequel to the story of the West; rather, it offers an opportunity to witness how the relationship between politics and the divine could be variously negotiated without being encumbered by the tradition of metaphysics that contemporary thought often tries to escape. The story of the Baal Cycle at Ugarit is but one drop in this sea of opportunity.

Among the texts discovered in Ugarit's palace is an edict issued by Tudhaliya IV.[7] At the center of the tablet is an impression of the Great King's royal seal depicting the same scene of divine embrace that amazed Texier at Yazılıkaya (Figure 0.4). Dispatched from the imperial capital, the edict with its seal made Hittite political theology visible to the dependent king of Ugarit. That king, Ammistamru II (ca. 1260–1235 BCE), was responsible for initiating the linguistic reform that invented the cuneiform alphabet and the concomitant possibility for Ugarit to produce a vernacular literature in its own script. Ilimilku wrote down the Baal Cycle shortly thereafter. Ugarit thereby responded to the political theology of divine embrace impressed upon its suzerain's edicts with a poem that undermines all politics claiming divine warrant as its foundation. How it did so is the story of this book.

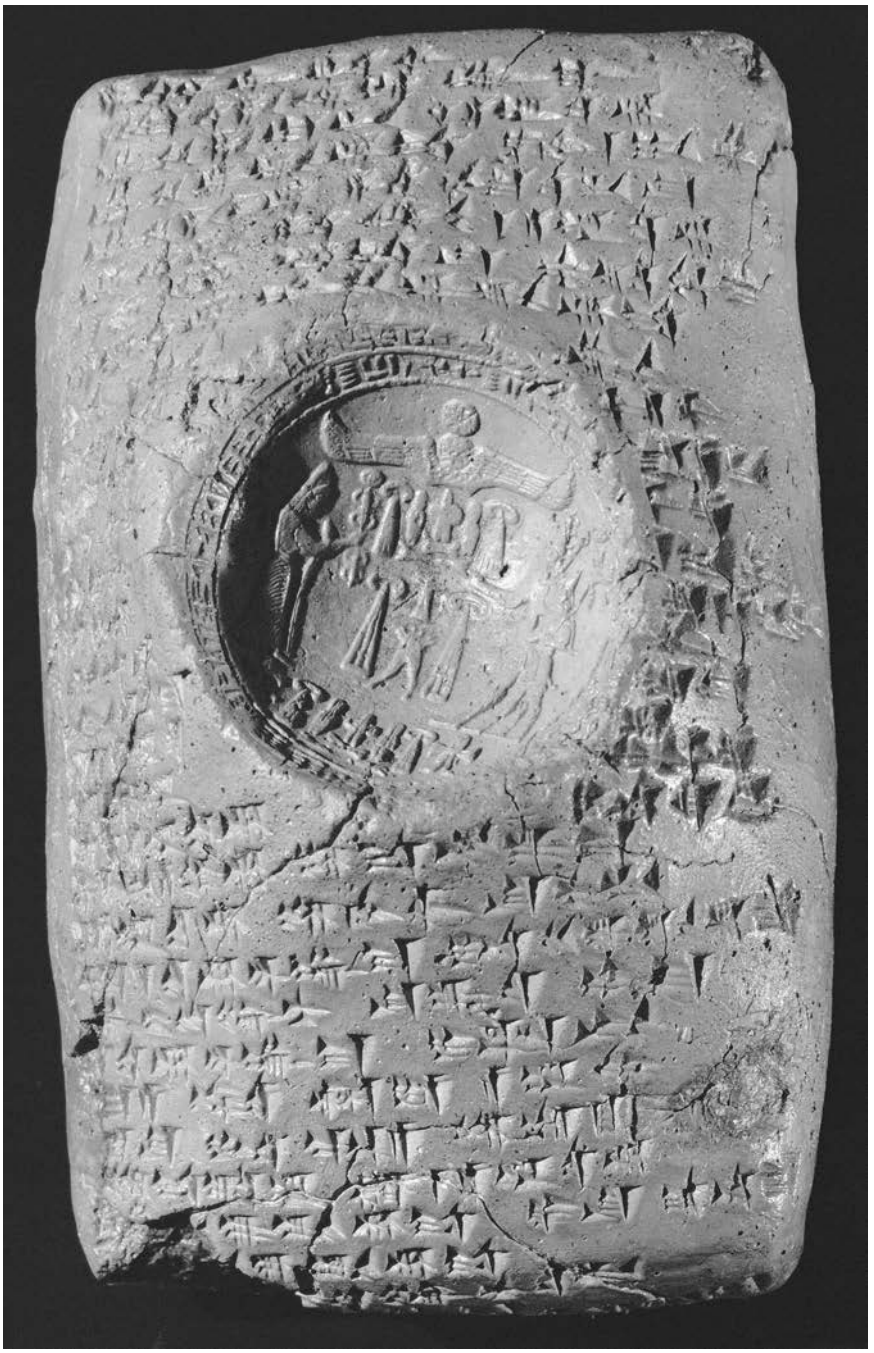


Figure 0.4 Edict of Tudhaliya IV (RS 17.159)

Source: Photo courtesy Art Resource.

Notes

1 Texier 1839: 214. All translations are my own unless otherwise specified.
2 Hawkins 2011.
3 The iconography of divine embrace finds parallels in Hittite texts that speak of a god taking a king by the hand. See Klengel 2002; de Martino and Imparati 1998: 181–2; and Singer 1996: 68.
4 IBoT 1.30. English translation in Beckman 1995: 530.
5 In places, the Hittite text refers to the king as "the Labarna," a functionally equivalent title. I have adapted the translation for simplicity.
6 The envoy scene has traditionally been thought to precede the combat between Baal and Yamm; see Chapter 5 for a discussion of why epigraphic considerations point to reversing this order.
7 RS 17.159 (*PRU* IV, 126–7 and pl. XXII; Beckman 1999: no. 36A).

1 Baal and the modern study of myth

In the spring of 1928, a farmer's plow ran into stone just below the surface of the ground in a field near the Mediterranean coast of Syria. Upon examination, the farmer discovered the obstruction to be a flagstone covering a subterranean passageway leading into a tomb. There he found a number of ancient objects, which he later sold to an antiquities dealer. The French mandatory authorities then in control of Syria were soon informed of the discovery, prompting the director of the Antiquities Service of Syria and Lebanon, Charles Virolleaud, to assemble an archaeological team to explore further.

Under the direction of C.F.A. Schaeffer, excavations began in the spring of 1929, first in the vicinity of the discovered tomb near the bay of Minet el-Beida, and then on the nearby inland tell of Ras Shamra (Fennel Mound). Five days into work at the latter site, on the afternoon of May 14, the first clay tablet with cuneiform writing was unearthed. Several dozen texts were discovered that first season. Three days later, Virolleaud, a trained Assyriologist, arrived from Beirut to inspect the newly discovered tablets. "Strange, very strange," Schaeffer reports his colleague to have exclaimed. Though a few of the tablets were clearly written in the syllabic cuneiform script well known from Sumerian and Akkadian texts excavated since the mid-nineteenth century, most were in a script hitherto unseen. The technique was similar to syllabic cuneiform in that it, too, inscribed wedges in clay, but its repertory of signs was significantly reduced – suggesting an alphabet. Virolleaud returned to Beirut, his satchel filled with the newly discovered texts, to ponder the yet undecipherable documents.[1]

Decipherment came quickly. Virolleaud's efforts were complemented by the work of two biblical scholars who had been cryptographers during the First World War: Hans Bauer at the University of Halle and Père Edouard Dhorme at the École Biblique in Jerusalem; within a year all the letter values had been determined.[2] The language of the texts was soon recognized to be a variety of Semitic related to biblical Hebrew.[3] With the identification of Ras Shamra as the ancient city of Ugarit in 1931, the language came to be known as Ugaritic.

Excavations on the acropolis of the tell continued annually until the outbreak of the Second World War. They revealed two temples and a structure that came to be

known as the House of the High Priest. Adjacent to the Temple of Baal, the house contained an extensive collection of texts. Along with lexical lists belonging to the traditional Mesopotamian scribal curriculum, international correspondence of kings and dignitaries in Akkadian, and several administrative lists, the excavators found numerous ritual texts and a collection of Ugaritic literary texts recounting the exploits of gods and heroes.[4] Among these were six fragmentary tablets telling the story of the storm-god Baal and his struggles with the other gods.

Baal was a god already familiar from the Bible. Perhaps the most famous passage concerns Elijah's challenge to the prophets of Baal on Mount Carmel. When they failed to produce a sign from their god, he slaughtered all 450 of them by the Kishon brook (1 Kings 18). Throughout the biblical corpus, Baal worship serves as the epitome of Israelite religious apostasy to the ways of their Canaanite neighbors. The discoveries at Ugarit, therefore, immediately attracted considerable interest from Hebrew Bible scholars.[5] Among these was William Foxwell Albright (1891–1971).

Appointed W. W. Spence Professor of Semitic Languages at the Johns Hopkins University in the same year that Ugarit was discovered, Albright was by then well on his way to becoming the dominant figure in twentieth-century American biblical studies. A formidable linguist, Albright regularly published philological notes to the Ugaritic literary texts as soon as Virolleaud published them. His principal interest, however, was in the history of ancient Israelite religion. The surprising discoveries at Ras Shamra, therefore, elicited his great excitement. "It was universally assumed by competent scholars, up to 1929," Albright wrote in an early article, "that the literature of the Canaanites and Phoenicians had perished for ever, in view of the well-known fragility of papyrus and leather and their poor resistance to moisture. Each year since then has yielded new discoveries of clay tablets containing parts of this long-lost literature, inscribed in a new cuneiform alphabet."[6]

For Albright, the Ugaritic literary texts finally provided unmediated access to the Canaanite religion, against which the biblical prophets had so often railed. And Albright felt they had had a good right to do so. "The brutality of Canaanite mythology," he once remarked, "passes belief."[7] Albright's remark encapsulates two factors that have marked the reception of the Ugaritic literary texts: their assignment to the category of myth and the concomitant valuation of them as attesting a(n inferior) form of religion.[8] These two factors were linked in that myth was understood to be a characteristic feature of polytheism – and so belonged to a type of religion conceived to be at odds with the monotheism of ancient Israel. Consider, for example, Albright's 1968 synthetic study, *Yahweh and the Gods of Canaan: A Historical Analysis of Two Contrasting Faiths*. Though his study uses Ugaritic narratives about the gods extensively, Albright's principal concern is not with myth as a literary phenomenon but with polytheism as a religious system. The former is reduced to a symptom of the latter.[9]

I will consider the alternative of prioritizing the work as literature later. For the moment, I would like to focus on the implications of a procedure that assumes a dichotomy between Canaanite and Israelite religion "drawn by those who are committed in advance to finding [the former] inferior, puerile, barbarous, retarded, or shocking."[10] That commitment, of course, derives from theologically based prejudice that re-embeds prophetic polemic in modern historical scholarship. Albright was convinced that the core of Israelite tradition was free of any connection to Canaanite ways.[11] His contrasting perspective led him to explain any similarities between the Ugaritic texts and the Bible as later Canaanite influence on Israel – the very influence that the prophets had railed against.

Though conservative voices remain, scholarship has largely abandoned the historicity of the biblical account of two genetically distinct peoples: Canaanites and Israelites. Rather, both archaeology and historical philology suggest that the Israelites were of Canaanite origin.[12] In the preface to his book *Canaanite Myth and Hebrew Epic*, Albright's student Frank Moore Cross criticized "the tendency of scholars to overlook or suppress the continuities between the early religion in Israel and the Canaanite . . . culture from which it emerged."[13]

"Influences" and "continuities," however, both measure the achievement of Israelite religion in terms of its distance from Canaanite myth.[14] What Israel supposedly achieved – whether at its inception or sometime later – was the articulation of a nonmythological form of religion. In the face of this driving idea, the Ugaritic texts appear as little more than repositories of religion that progress or providence eventually overcame. The texts from Ras Shamra were immediately patched onto an old story about myth as belonging to a primitive form of religion superseded by the flowering of ethical monotheism.[15]

***

If scholars like Albright have understood myth in terms of theological progress, others have framed its study in terms of the progress of rationality. A watershed moment in this latter approach to myth took place just two months before Schaeffer's initial discoveries in Syria. In March 1929, Ernst Cassirer and Martin Heidegger met in Davos, Switzerland. The question of myth that they debated there had already engaged both philosophers for some time. In 1925, Cassirer dedicated the second volume of *The Philosophy of Symbolic Forms* to the problem of "mythical thought."[16] Two years later, in *Being and Time*, Heidegger approvingly acknowledged Cassirer's having "made the *Dasein* of myth a theme for philosophical interpretation."[17] (*Dasein* is Heidegger's term for the experience of being that is particular to human beings.) Heidegger reiterated this point in a lengthy review of Cassirer's book.[18] Despite this, their interpretations of myth marked a fundamental divide between the two philosophers.

Attending to the disagreement between Cassirer and Heidegger allows a glimpse of the role myth has played in the elaboration of modern philosophy and

the concomitant characterization of ancient thought.[19] In the second volume of *The Philosophy of Symbolic Forms*, Cassirer provided a philosophical analysis of the unifying form of myth, which he identified as an early stage in the development of human consciousness. Opposing a long tradition in philosophy that simply rejected myth as belonging to the realm of illusion, Cassirer argued that myth must be taken seriously because "the problem of the beginnings of art, writing, law, [and] science leads back to a stage in which they all resided in the immediate and undifferentiated unity of the mythical consciousness."[20] Yet although he took myth seriously, Cassirer was ultimately concerned with explaining (and justifying) the dynamics of overcoming mythic consciousness through more differentiated modes of symbolic thought.

Religion, Cassirer argued, marks a step forward in this regard in that its sensuous images and signs are recognized as necessarily inadequate to the meaning they reveal. The self-conscious symbolization of scientific thought takes this process even further. For Cassirer, breaking away from myth is not only a cognitive achievement, but also an ethical one. A decisive turn away from mythical consciousness occurs "when the soul ceases to be considered as a mere vehicle or cause of vital phenomena and is taken rather as the subject of ethical consciousness."[21] Ultimately, the value of understanding mythical consciousness is that it allows us to recognize the superiority of the forms of consciousness that superseded it.

Consciousness does not offer itself to direct empirical observation. The researcher is able to access mythical consciousness only through mythical images that are understood to be objectifications resulting from a process of symbolization. Though Cassirer presents his work as an account of that process of symbolization – and the dialectical movement from immediate mythic symbolization to symbolizations of greater reflexivity – he necessarily had to work backward from the symbols to the consciousness that supposedly underlies them. This is where methodological questions relating to Cassirer's use of historical sources arise.

Writing in the early 1920s, Cassirer obviously did not know of the texts from Ugarit. As the first professor of philosophy at the newly founded University of Hamburg, he did, however, have access to the vast collection of material in the field of mythology and general history of religion that Aby Warburg had assembled in his Hamburg library.[22] His use of that material bears the marks of both the interpretive tendencies of the ethnologists and historians of religion upon whose studies Cassirer relied well and his self-imposed imperative to find a "spiritual unity of meaning" in the diversity of particular myths.

As the English anthropologist E. E. Evans-Pritchard later forcefully argued, the ethnological reports used by the scholars upon whom Cassirer depended for aspects of his characterization of mythical consciousness were often highly selective and focused on the curious, crude, and sensational.

> Consequently, by giving undue attention to what they regarded as curious superstitions, the occult and mysterious, observers tended to paint a picture in

> which the mystical (in Lévy-Bruhl's sense of that word) took up a far greater portion of the canvas than it has in the lives of primitive peoples, so that the empirical, the ordinary, the common-sense, the workaday world seemed to have only a secondary importance.[23]

Similar reservations can be voiced about the ancient scholarship that Cassirer used – from Hermann Usener's *Götternamen* to the work of the pan-Babylonian school.[24] It is unclear what Cassirer would have concluded had he been more aware of the biases in his sources. However, he thought he had sufficient empirical evidence of myth as a unitary form of consciousness that encompasses the whole of existence. Albright and his fellow historians of religion were less interested in ancient narrative poetry as concrete works of literature than in how such texts provided evidence for an underlying form of religion that could be set in opposition to monotheism. Cassirer, too, was primarily interested in empirical myths (actual texts that circulated in particular cultural situations) because they supposedly revealed the existence of an underlying mythical form of thought that could be contrasted with more highly differentiated forms.

The extent to which Cassirer believed himself to be telling a historical story remains ambiguous. *The Philosophy of Symbolic Forms* is filled with the historical erudition for which Cassirer was rightly renowned. Furthermore, his account of religious thinking as emerging from its own mythical beginnings conforms to a classic historical narrative by appealing to the biblical prophetic books, Zoroastrian scriptures, and the Upanishads as demonstrative of a postmythical consciousness. The use of such examples implies that Cassirer thought human consciousness developed over the course of history (with the exception of "primitive" peoples who carry older forms of consciousness into the contemporary world). At the same time, Cassirer says explicitly that his insight into the development of science should be "taken in the ideal, not temporal sense," and he later reminds his reader that "it is too readily forgotten that the purely 'naïve' stage of the empirical consciousness here presupposed is itself no fact but a theoretical construction, that it is fundamentally nothing other than a limiting concept created by epistemological reflection."[25]

This ambiguity may not be particularly damaging for Cassirer's project; his ultimate purpose was to provide a philosophical justification for modern consciousness, not a historical account of ancient thought. The same cannot be said for works of historical scholarship that have drawn inspiration from Cassirer's book. Among the most prominent of these is the collaborative volume *The Intellectual Adventure of Ancient Man* conceived by Henri Frankfort and his wife Henriette Antonia Groenewegen in the mid-1940s.

Still in print today, the volume defined ancient Near Eastern speculative thought as "mythopoeic" – that is, oriented toward the phenomenal world in a personalistic manner at odds with the attitude of scientific rationality constitutive of modern thought.[26] Like the ethnographers whom Evans-Pritchard critiqued, the

Frankforts and their colleagues conjured a particular image of ancient Near Eastern thought by placing a disproportionate emphasis on a circumscribed set of literary texts while disregarding the relevance of more prosaic documents like letters, contracts, and economic accounts. The Frankforts' Cassirer-inspired thesis reverberates in discussions of ancient Near Eastern myth to this day.

As Peter Gordon has remarked, "It would be difficult to overlook the resemblance between the ostensibly 'primitive' understanding of space-time as analyzed by Cassirer and the supposedly 'existential' account of *Dasein*'s spatiotemporal structures as presented by Heidegger."[27] Understanding the disagreement that emerged between Cassirer and Heidegger can help clarify what was really at stake in Cassirer's engagement with myth. Despite his previously mentioned appreciative comments, Heidegger criticized Cassirer for relying upon a Kantian model of subjectivity that distorted the way myth could be made relevant to philosophical analysis. For Heidegger, mythic space-time served as a useful illustration of the holistic aspect of pragmatic space-time that belongs to *Dasein*'s everyday comportment. Myth, Heidegger thought, provided a philosophically valuable source for understanding how people go through their everyday lives.

Such everydayness is a modality of *all* human understanding – no more and no less a feature of "primitive" humans than of humans today. The ethnographic data that Cassirer thought revealed an early stage of human consciousness were interesting to Heidegger because in it the universal character of everydayness showed itself particularly clearly. But if what is really at issue is not a stage in the development of human consciousness but an ordinary mode of being in the world, then to speak of overcoming is misguided. Heidegger's position threatened what Cassirer considered to be of ultimate importance: the achievement of modern rationality. If Heidegger was right, Cassirer thought, then the idea of progress underpinning modern enlightenment was an illusion. At stake in the debate about myth was the status of modernity.

After the Second World War, the theme of mythical overcoming reemerged at the heart of Karl Jaspers's proposed "Axial Age" thesis – a proposal that was reinvigorated recently with the publication of Robert Bellah's *Religion in Human Evolution* (2011). Whereas previous grand historical narratives focused on the philosophers of Athens and prophets of Jerusalem as the twin founders of the Western emancipation from myth, Jaspers's more ecumenical account added such thinkers as Confucius and the Buddha to identify a moment of world historical transformation between 800 and 200 BCE. According to Jaspers, a "Mythical Age" characterized by "tranquility and self-evidence" was brought to an end by "the Greek, Indian and Chinese philosophers [who] were *un-mythical* in their decisive insights, as were the prophets in their ideas of God."[28]

Although Jaspers acknowledged that his notion of an axis marking a decisive turning point in world history had Christian roots, he insisted that a properly universal axis could be valid not only for believing Christians. "An axis of world

history, if such a thing exists," Jaspers argued, "would have to be discovered *empirically*, as a fact capable of being accepted as such by all men, Christians included."[29] Jaspers did not attempt to provide the detailed historical assessment of empirical evidence necessary to verify or reject his proposed thesis; rather, he offered his short book as a challenge to others to put the thesis to the test. Since its publication, many historians, philosophers, and sociologists have taken up Jaspers' challenge – even though it remains unclear why, after giving up on one's Christian faith, one would expect history to be structured around an axis.[30]

Like Cassirer's writings of the interwar period, Axial Age discourse has served to perpetuate the idea that the inhabitants of the ancient Near East were imprisoned in myth.[31] They lived in a cave, the exits to which would only be discovered centuries later.[32] This variation on the Platonic allegory of the cave adheres to a notion of progress in history that was unknown to Socrates. In the *Republic*, Socrates called for the expulsion of the poets from his city-in-speech because he was under no illusion that the ancient quarrel between poetry and philosophy would be resolved by the cunning of history.[33] With thinkers like Nietzsche and Heidegger initiating the collapse of faith in historical progress, myth can once again be recognized as a persistent political problem.[34] From such a perspective, an ancient poem about the gods would belong to the category of myth in the same way that today professional wrestling and a saluting black soldier on the cover of *Paris-Match* are instances of myth.

The last two examples are taken from Roland Barthes's 1957 essay *Mythologies*. By arguing that modern society, too, has its myths, the work provided a helpful alternative model for the study of myth – one that does not associate myth with an early stage in human development. Combining a semiotic approach derived from Saussure with a Marxist notion of ideology, Barthes defined myth as a system of communication whose task is to give historical intention a natural justification and make contingency appear eternal.[35] Barthes's emphasis on myths as messages that circulate in historically specific situations helps correct against the tendency to treat them as symptoms of something else – whether a form of consciousness or a type of religion.

Furthermore, even if one is skeptical, as I am, of Barthes's conception of a revolutionary politics without myth, it remains constructive to think of myth as playing a role in the maintenance of what sociologists Peter Berger and Thomas Luckmann have called "symbolic universes."[36] These are bodies of tradition that legitimate the institutional order by situating it in an ultimate cosmological and anthropological frame of reference. Though they are social products with a history, symbolic universes present themselves as natural and inevitable. Myths are stories whose creation and circulation contribute to the work of universe maintenance. They perpetuate the everyday, taken-for-granted attitude toward the world.[37]

Though a taken-for-granted attitude toward the world constitutes the *de facto* reality of most socio-historical situations, the specific form that attitude takes will

differ at different points in history. Different worlds presume different myths – but every world will have its myths. To return to the image of Plato's cave, each historical world can be thought of as a cave with its own particular myths projected on the wall. If, however, as Nietzsche argued, there is no realm of light outside the cave but only the world in which one lives, then any act of overcoming myth cannot take the form of escaping the cave or tearing down its walls.[38] Thinking takes place in the cave by interrogating the beliefs that constitute it.

Focus, then, should be placed on the capacity to recognize one's myths as myths, to attain self-understanding with respect to the contingency of one's world and the tensions inherent in all institutions.[39] Berger and Luckmann have called this possibility "de-reification."[40] Because de-reification must always take aim at the particular structures of a particular world, it will look different in different historical contexts. Critical thinking is site specific. And because all worlds tend to be taken for granted, the work of examining one's own assumptions is an ever-present task. By abandoning the self-congratulatory perspective of teleological breakthrough narratives that posit critical thinking as an achievement of social evolution, we can better attune ourselves to the actual dynamics involved in attaining a reflective stance toward a world's legitimating narratives. The interplay of poetry and politics at Ugarit in the thirteenth century BCE provides an opportunity to study such dynamics in detail.

***

Ever since Schaeffer and his team rediscovered it, the Ugaritic story of Baal has been labeled a myth. The designation is based simply upon the poem's content, in accordance with the commonly held opinion that stories about (multiple) gods are myths. If it were only a designation of content, the categorization would be unproblematic. But, of course, the term tends to evoke much more – perhaps an early form of religion, a primitive stage of consciousness, or a vehicle of political legitimation. I have addressed the shortcomings of trying to draw out the first two types of implication from an ancient poem. The question remains: Is the Ugaritic poem about Baal a myth in Barthes' sense – a story that works to perpetuate the taken-for-granted aspects of a world? It is the contention of this work that it is not.[41] Rather, I will argue in the following chapters that the poem originally aimed to inspire critical reflection on the political institutions of its day and the myths that circulated to maintain them. It attests to an ancient effort at de-reification.

Just as stories can play a significant role in universe maintenance, they can also arouse awareness of the tensions inherent in one's world and elicit a critical attitude toward it. Poetry can play the part of gadfly. Russian critic Viktor Shklovsky once described art as performing an "estranging" role that breaks human beings out of the habituation to which they are prone.[42] Barthes also recognized this possibility when he claimed, "The best weapon against myth is perhaps to mythify it in its turn and to produce an *artificial myth*."[43] Barthes's "second-order myth"

refashions elements of traditional myth in a way that deconstructs them – a strategy that I will argue is at work in the Ugaritic poem about Baal.[44] Similarly, in his recent book *Hollywood Westerns and American Myth*, philosopher Robert Pippin has drawn a distinction between the moral clarity of most "B" Westerns (black hats vs. white hats, bad guys vs. good guys) and the work of directors whose films complicate neat moral dividing lines. These films, moreover, often thematize the very processes by which our allegiances come to be held.

Writing about John Ford's *The Man Who Shot Liberty Valance* (1962), Pippin has argued that the film plunges its audience "into the thick of the question of the role of mythology . . . in the creation of a political world and its psychological 'health.'"[45] Rather than a mythological treatment of a founding, the film is *about* mythological accounts of foundings. Though André Bazin may have been right about most Westerns when he designated them as modern mythology, films like *Liberty Valance*, Pippin argues, "might better be called examples of mythological modernism, for the level of reflection, self-consciousness, self-thematization, and even irony is much higher than is usually attributed to Westerns or to myths."[46] Though Pippin is justified in associating the qualities he finds in these films with the aesthetic ambitions of modernism, it is a contention of this book that similarly functioning narratives are to be found from as early as the Bronze Age – we simply need to learn how to recognize them.

Thankfully, the mound of Ras Shamra and other sites from Anatolia to Egypt dating to the Late Bronze Age (ca. 1500–1200 BCE) have provided abundant material with which to embark on such an undertaking. When archaeologists returned to Ugarit after the interruption of the Second World War, they shifted focus from the acropolis where they had discovered the major literary texts to the royal palace located on the western edge of the tell. There they unearthed thousands of documents pertaining to the administration of the kingdom and its political relations with the wider world. Later excavations at locations like the House of Rap'anu and the House of Urtenu have revealed complicated networks intertwining textual production, cultic activity, trade, and diplomacy. Together with discoveries from sites like Hattusa, el-Amarna, Qatna, and Emar, the Ugarit sources have allowed scholars to reconstruct Syria's history during the final years of the Bronze Age in great detail.

Knowledge of political history in the sense of wars and reigns has reemerged after the oblivion of millennia, and with it we have come to discover a world with its own norms and mores. This is the world in which the Ugaritic poem about Baal was created and in relation to which it made sense to its original audience. But the assumptions about myth recounted earlier and a desire to foreground Ugaritic literature's relevance to the study of the Bible have inclined scholars to disembed the poem from its historical context.[47] This book strives to upend this process by reading the poem in combination with the cuneiform tablets that were unearthed alongside it. The intellectual and political horizon of Late Bronze Age

Syria provides the backdrop against which the critical work of Ugaritic poetry is finally able to appear.

In this respect, the approach to the Baal Cycle ventured here is not unlike Jonathan Z. Smith's classic study of a Maori cosmogony. Smith showed that the story of Io's creation of the world was the product of the specific historical experience of Maori interaction with European colonialism and so could not be used as evidence for *Urmonotheismus* or for the nature of archaic ritual, as had been done in previous scholarship. Rather than lament this loss of a primitive myth, Smith recognizes new opportunities for understanding how texts work. He concludes his essay with lines equally applicable to the Baal Cycle:

> This native work has been obscured by taking the text to be static, to be archaic, to be a myth. By placing it back within its context, the historian of religion may begin to perceive its labors, its strains, its achievements. Such a study may allow us to begin to . . . appreciate *homo religiosus* as being, preeminently, *homo faber*.[48]

***

In the final years of his life, as a refugee teaching at Columbia and Yale universities during the Second World War, Ernst Cassirer penned his most explicitly political book. *The Myth of the State* begins with a discussion of mythical thought reminiscent of Cassirer's work from the 1920s but then proceeds to trace what he calls the struggle against myth in the history of political thought. Under the influence of Bronisław Malinowski's theory of myth as a charter for primitive society (the two émigrés were briefly colleagues in New Haven), Cassirer admitted there was a political role for myth that his earlier work had ignored. As a force that secures social cohesion at the expense of individual freedom, political myth is totalitarian.

Cassirer presented the history of Western political thought as an ongoing struggle against this totalitarian myth of the state. In effect, the book repeats the story of separation from mythical thought told in *The Philosophy of Symbolic Forms* – only its focus is more on politics than epistemology. Also, the ending is different. If Cassirer's work from the 1920s was sanguine about the prospects of progress, the intervening years of National Socialism and forced exile had undermined that confidence. Cassirer's final book tells the story of how political thinkers from Plato to Kant made great strides in establishing a rational theory of the state but culminates in a despondent account of the return of political myth in the twentieth century.

To a man who had committed his life to the banner of progress, it came as a troubling realization "that human culture is by no means the firmly established thing that we once supposed it to be."[49] Under the pressure of recent events, the Enlightenment story that Cassirer had taken for granted needed to be revised. It

is worth considering the form that that revision took. Though Cassirer admitted that he had been wrong in thinking that myth had been definitively defeated, his talk of a "return" to myth in modern political life continued to frame matters diachronically.[50] He remained an adherent of what the historians of human civilization had told him: "Mankind in its development had to pass through two different phases . . . The *homo magus* of former times and of primitive civilization became *homo faber*."[51] Rather than rethink myth in accord with the possibility that humans have always been *homo faber*, Cassirer sought to reaffirm the story that myth is a primitive force that civilization tames and subdues – even though, as he now realized, it can never be entirely overcome.

He did so in a most unusual way. Cassirer's book concludes with an appeal to the great Babylonian creation epic *Enuma elish*. In Cassirer's hands, the story of the god Marduk's combat against the primordial forces of Tiamat becomes a simile for the relation between demonic myth and the intellectual, ethical, and artistic forces that keep chaos at bay. Just as Marduk could not establish world order until after he defeated Tiamat, the world of human culture "could not arise until the darkness of myth was fought and overcome."[52] And just as primordial forces always pose the threat of returning, modern political myths mark a regression to a primitive past. As Peter Gordon has remarked, "A book whose consuming task was to indict the noxious entwinement of modern politics and myth came to a close by affirming its own mythology, as if Marduk were liberalism's god."[53]

The politics of the twentieth century look like a regression only if one accepts the Enlightenment story of a progressive movement away from myth. In place of such a narrative of progress, this study investigates the proposition that both political myth and the capacity for calling it into question have coexisted from the earliest days of recorded human political life. Cassirer claimed that the most dreadful thing about his world was that man "no longer questions his environment; he accepts it as a matter of course."[54] But was there really ever a time when such complacency was not the norm? Questioning is the result of individual thinking, not historical transformation. And stories, at all times, can help individuals to think. The mythical stories that hold our world together are always susceptible to reworking by critical stories that assist us in thinking for ourselves. The rest of this book will be devoted to how one such story engaged with the myths of its world more than 3,000 years ago.

Notes

1 Schaeffer 1929, 1956. For a more detailed account of the discovery of Ugarit, see, inter alia, Curtis 1999.
2 Cathcart 1999.
3 On the categorization of Ugaritic among the Semitic languages, see Huehnergard and Hasselbach 2007; Pardee 2011; and Gianto 2012.
4 van Soldt 2000: 239–40.

5 For a detailed history of the relationship between Ugaritic and biblical studies, see M. S. Smith 2001b.
6 Albright 1932: 185. Though Albright remarks upon how the new texts can serve to identify Canaanite influences in the Hebrew Bible, his use of the term "North-Canaanite" in the article's title betrays an awareness that Ugarit was located considerably north of the region traditionally understood as Canaan. By contrast, it is worth noting that Virolleaud – an Assyriologist rather than a Biblicist by training – generally referred to the texts he was publishing as "phéniciens."
7 Albright 1961: 338.
8 On "religion" as a problematic category when discussing the ancient world, see Veldhuis 2004; Nongbri 2013; and Barton and Boyarin 2016.
9 This is true even of studies that appear to focus on literary genre, such as Frank Moore Cross's *Canaanite Myth and Hebrew Epic* (1973) – with the literary genres "myth" and "epic" simply standing in for two supposedly contrasting religious orientations (cf. Hillers 1985: 265–6). The connection between mythology and polytheism has been a mainstay of scholarship since at least as early as F.W.J. Schelling, who asserted in his 1842 lectures on the philosophy of mythology that "mythology is polytheism" (2007: 9). By contrast, Michael Fishbane has argued convincingly that "the exclusive identification of a literary phenomenon (myth) with a specific religious or cultural form (natural polytheism) is both tendentious and tautological" (2005: 5–6). The binary has also been subject to detailed critique within biblical studies (e.g., M. S. Smith 2002).
10 Hillers 1985: 254.
11 See, e.g., Albright 1932: 208: "The oldest traditions and literary fragments of Israel belong to a period before Canaanite influence began seriously to affect them." A similar position was held by Albright's Israeli contemporary, Yehezkel Kaufmann: "We shall see that Israelite religion was an original creation of the people of Israel. It was absolutely different from anything the pagan world ever knew; its monotheistic worldview had no antecedent paganism" (1972: 2). Likewise, Albright's student G. Ernest Wright retained his teacher's position: "It is impossible on any empirical ground to understand how the God of Israel could have evolved out of polytheism" (1952: 20). All three authors, along with Frank Moore Cross and Norman Gottwald, are discussed in Hillers 1985.
12 The literature on this topic is massive. An important early statement can be found in Ahlström 1963. See also, inter alia, M. S. Smith 2002; Liverani 2005; and Faust 2008.
13 Cross 1973: vii.
14 For an "eirenic" polemic against this position, see Wyatt 2002b.
15 The characterization of monotheism as fundamentally opposed to myth has ancient roots, but received reinvigoration in Protestant theology and the scholarly disciplines intertwined with it. For instance, in his 1842 lectures Schelling declared that the god of a revealed monotheism "had to be an ultimately non-mythological God, a God excluding from himself everything mythological" (2007: 85). One continues to find reiterations of the thesis. In a recent essay on myth betraying no apparent apologetic intent, historian of religion Fritz Graf seems to take for granted that "in monotheistic Israel, every intervention of God in the visible world – from the creation to the ongoing protection of God's people – is understood as history: where God reveals the past, there is no place for myth" (2004: 53). Similarly, two prominent contemporary Israeli scholars have recently written: "Israel's break with its pagan past was hardly instantaneous and certainly not painless. Many stories carried their mythic foundations within them . . . Such stories are familiar to us from Israel's neighbors, such as Sumer and Babylonia, ancient Egypt, and Canaan. The Bible, as we shall see, did its best to resist these polytheistic traditions and to purify the religion of Israel and its Scripture from any and all mythological-pagan elements" (Shinan and Zakovitch 2012: 5). Gershom Scholem's attempt to reestablish the place of myth in Judaism was directed against those insisting that the Bible ushered in a religion "from which mythology would be excluded"

(1965: 88). Michael Fishbane (2005) has furthered this project in his own way. Scholem's and Fishbane's work is admirable. It bears noting, however, that their projects of revaluing mythic elements in a tradition said to be free of myth should not be confused with the aims of the present work – namely, to reconsider a body of ancient literary texts without assuming that they conform to what has traditionally been said about "myth." The standard narrative blinds us not only to important constituent features of the Bible and Judaism, but also to the complexity of the prebiblical situation.

16 Cassirer 1955; cf. the essays collected in Cassirer 2013.

17 Heidegger 1962: 490, n. xi.

18 Heidegger 1997.

19 For a compelling account of the Davos encounter and its intellectual context, see Gordon 2010.

20 Cassirer 1955: xv.

21 Cassirer 1955: 166; cf. Habermas 2001: 23–4.

22 In the preface to his book, Cassirer acknowledged having benefited from the materials in Warburg's library, which "revolved around a unitary, central problem closely related to the basic problem of my own work" (1955: xviii). Nevertheless, Cassirer's Enlightenment commitment to the modern triumph over and displacement of myth set him apart from Warburg's own fascination with the ways mythological thought has remained alive in modern culture (Gordon 2010: 22). On Cassirer and Warburg, see further Habermas 2001 and Levine 2013: 93–120.

23 Evans-Pritchard 1965: 8. A related revision of the then-dominant understanding of myth was already being developed by Bronislaw Malinowski around the time that Cassirer was writing (Strenski 1992). The philosopher, however, does not appear to have become familiar with the anthropologist's work until late in life (when the two overlapped briefly as professors at Yale University). For a lucid comparison of Cassirer's symbolist and Malinowski's functionalist approach, and the shortcomings of each, see Vernant 1990: 235–41. For further critique of the anthropological methodologies upon which Cassirer's work relied, see, inter alia, J. Z. Smith 1978 and Tambiah 1990.

24 For a discussion of Usener's conception of religious development, see Kany 2004. Vernant (1990: 230–3) provides a helpful critique of the diachronic attitude prevalent in the German philological school's approach to ancient religion. On pan-Babylonianism, see Marchand 2009: 236–44.

25 Cassirer 1955: xvi and 34.

26 Frankfort et al. 1946. The Frankforts' notion of the "mythopoeic" was at least in part derived from Ernst Cassirer's idea of "mythical thought" (P. Taylor 2011). The couple met Cassirer at least once, in 1936, in the London flat of Gertrude Bing and Fritz Saxl (as attested by an invitation to tea now in the Frankfort papers in the Warburg Institute archive). The Frankforts' position – which amalgamates contradictory elements from Martin Buber and Ernst Cassirer, among others – is not entirely coherent and at times frustratingly inconsistent from one sentence to the next. Nevertheless, the volume is praiseworthy for its ambition to address fundamental questions usually ignored by scholarship on the ancient Near East – and this is likely why it has proven so attractive, at least among nonspecialists, as an account of ancient mental life. For an excellent discussion of the book's genesis and intellectual context, see Machinist 2016. Foster 2016 provides a subtle yet devastating critique of the Frankforts' claims about Mesopotamian literature.

27 Gordon 2010: 236.

28 Jaspers 1953: 2–3 (emphasis added). Though his ecumenical project led him to define what constituted a breakthrough more expansively than the arrival of Greek philosophy, Jaspers's choice of the term "mythical" to define earlier societies recalls the teleological story of Greek thought as having moved "from *mythos* to *logos*." But whereas for Cornford (1912) and Nestle (1940) the transition "from *mythos* to *logos*" was an inner-Greek affair, Jaspers expanded the jurisdiction of myth to include the

civilizations of the ancient Near East. The Frankforts performed a similar move in *The Intellectual Adventure of Ancient Man* (Frankfort et al. 1946), with its final chapter on Greek philosophy as ushering in the emancipation of thought from myth. It has since become commonplace to treat the ancient Near East as an appendage to the realm of mythos. So, for instance, in Jean-Pierre Vernant's *The Origins of Greek Thought*, not only Hesiod but also Babylonian cosmology is discussed as counterpoint to the speculations of Anaximander (1982: 110–12; cf. West 1997). Scholars of ancient Mesopotamia have recently been rethinking the relationship between philosophy and cuneiform culture (Van De Mieroop 2015; Rochberg 2016), a project to which this book aims to contribute even as it tries, in line with Socrates' "second sailing," to shift focus to political questioning as the primary object of investigation.

29 Jaspers 1953: 1.

30 In recent years, some scholars have shifted focus to studying the nature of "Axial phenomena" regardless of their chronological location. Rather than studying the "age of criticism" (to use Arnaldo Momigliano's [1975: 9] term for the period designated by Jaspers), this new approach considers the nature of criticism and the conditions of its emergence within societies. Jan Assmann (2005, 2012), in particular, has made a compelling case for such a shift. For a counterposition, see Arnason 2012. The entire debate should be viewed in light of Hans Joas's suggestion that Axial Age discourse, from the start, has been "a series of highly complex attempts of intellectuals to position themselves with regard to the problem of 'transcendence,' its role in history, and viable forms of its articulation in the present" (2012: 9); cf. Wagner 2005.

31 Scholars of the ancient Near East have participated only modestly in exploring the notion of an Axial Age. Noteworthy contributors include Oppenheim 1975; Tadmor 1986; Machinist 1986; and Michalowski 2005 (cf. Larsen 1987). As spokespeople for the supposedly pre-Axial civilization of ancient Mesopotamia, these scholars have generally corroborated the contention that a major transformation occurred in the first millennium BCE; they argue simultaneously that Axial-like phenomena can be found earlier. Because most ancient Near Eastern scholarship remains virtually inaccessible to the uninitiated, theoreticians have tended to rely upon a relatively circumscribed body of more popularizing works when describing the pre-Axial Near East. In the first volume of his ambitious multivolume history of political symbolization, *Order and History* (1956–1987), Eric Voegelin relied heavily upon *The Intellectual Adventure of Ancient Man* for his characterization of ancient Near Eastern civilizations (see Machinist 2001). Half a century later, Bellah's (2011) extended discussion of ancient Mesopotamia still uses Thorkild Jacobsen's contribution to that book, as well as his later monograph, *The Treasures of Darkness* (1976), which relies upon Rudolph Otto's problematic phenomenology of religion. Whereas Mesopotamia and Egypt have often been invoked as pre-Axial civilizations, Ugarit has not received much attention in this discussion. One notable exception is Schloen (2001), who presents his work as the first half of a never-completed pair of studies on the "House of the Father" in the pre-Axial and Axial worlds.

32 In fact, cuneiform sources extend well into the Hellenistic period. This has seldom disrupted the standard presentation of successive, rather than (partially) coexisting, civilizations. In my study, however, with its focus on the thirteenth century BCE, it remains accurate to speak of the Axial civilizations as coming later.

33 Elsewhere in the dialogue, Socrates discusses how mythoi are appropriate for the education of children (*Rep*. 376e-377c). With the rise of theories likening phylogenesis to ontogenesis, this association between myth and childhood spawned the unfortunate claim that myth belonged to the "childhood" of the human race. For a helpful discussion, see Lear 2006a. On the so-called quarrel between philosophy and poetry, see Most 2011.

34 In a published exchange with Judith Butler, Charles Taylor, and Cornel West on the power of religion in the public sphere, Jürgen Habermas (2011: 17–18), reiterating the

Axial Age hypothesis, asserts that "'the political' as such could not become a topic of discourse as long as mythic narratives remained the sole means of symbolic representation." In the discussions to follow of material from both Ugarit and Mari, I intend to show that such a simplified picture is untenable and that the capacity to critique political authority – which Habermas claims to have arisen only in the wake of Axial transformations – is likely inherent to political life itself, not the result of progress in symbolic representation.

35 Barthes 1972. This definition is similar to Bruce Lincoln's claim that myth is "ideology in narrative form" (1999: 147). It makes sense, practically and etymologically, to limit myth to narratives as long as one does not incorrectly infer that all narratives thereby perform the function of myth. Other cultural products, such as images, may tap into known stories and thus play a role in the circulation of myth – as Barthes' examples suggest.

36 Berger and Luckmann 1966: 92–128. It is worth comparing the idea of a symbolic universe to the Gramscian notion of hegemony, which Jean and John Comaroff have defined as "that order of signs and practices, relations and distinctions, images and epistemologies – drawn from a historically situated cultural field – that come to be taken-for-granted as the natural and received shape of the world and everything that inhabits it" (1991: 23). For Berger and Luckmann, the social construction of reality is necessitated by the fact that human beings, unlike the other higher mammals, have no species-specific environment (1966: 46). Hans Blumenberg (1985) makes a similar case for the necessity of myth as a means for coping with what he calls the "absolutism of reality"; cf. Geertz 1973; Sewell 2005: 185–9.

37 Berger and Luckmann treat mythology as one of several types of conceptual machinery for universe maintenance – along with theology, philosophy, and science. Though their distinctions are valuable, their treatment of mythology as an "archaic" form of universe maintenance "that posits the ongoing penetration of the world of everyday experience by sacred forces" (1966: 110) remains rooted in many of the misconceptions that I have been trying to dispel.

38 Nietzsche 2005: 170.

39 For Berger and Luckmann, no society is a harmonious, self-enclosed, perfectly functioning system. Rather, "because of the inevitable tensions of the processes of institutionalization, and by the very fact that all social phenomena are *constructions* produced historically through human activity, no society is totally taken for granted and so, *a fortiori*, is no symbolic universe" (1966: 106). More recently, William Sewell offered a revision of Clifford Geertz's theory of symbols that points in a similar direction. According to Sewell, "What Geertz fails to explore is that the doubleness of symbols also raises the possibility of a *disjunction* between their 'model of' and 'model for' aspects, a disjunction that opens up for actors a space for critical reflection about the world" (2005: 190).

40 Berger and Luckmann 1966: 89–92; see also, Berger and Pullberg 1965. I find Richard Rorty's (1989: xv) notion of the "ironist" as "the sort of person who faces up to the contingency of his or her own most central beliefs and desires – someone sufficiently historicist and nominalist to have abandoned the idea that those central beliefs and desires refer back to something beyond the reach of time and chance" helpful in this context; cf. Lear 2017: 63–79.

41 For affirmative answers to this question, see Wyatt 1997, 2005a; del Olmo Lete 2012; Pardee 2014; and Ballentine 2015.

42 Shklovsky 1991. Bertolt Brecht (1964) developed a similar concept of estrangement for the theater. See further, Benjamin 1977, Jameson 1998; and Ginzburg 2001. Also relevant is Walter Benjamin's (1998) study of how the formal qualities of German tragic drama allow for a political critique of the status quo, on which see Kahn 2014: 41–2.

43 Barthes 1972: 134. Original emphasis.

44 Because such a strategy requires the recycling of traditional tropes, it is possible to mistake the second-order myth for just one more reiteration of the standard myth. This is a hermeneutic problem that will be explored in the following chapters.
45 Pippin 2010: 83.
46 Pippin 2010: 96; cf. Bazin 1971. One common technique of self-thematization is to call attention to the act of storytelling. This is accomplished in *The Man Who Shot Liberty Valance* with its famous line: "This is the West, sir. When the legend becomes fact, print the legend." In ancient literature, the technique is employed throughout the Homeric corpus (Segal 1994: 113–41). It can also be found in the Baal Cycle, where a singer performs a song about Baal's exploits in Baal's presence (*KTU* 1.3 I 18 ff.).
47 Despite Anson Rainey's (1963) observation years ago that at Ugarit the term "Canaanite" was used to designate foreigners, the tendency to abstract Ugaritic literature from its temporal and geographical setting in order to treat it as exemplary of a broader Canaanite culture remains widespread. One sees this, for instance, in Frank Moore Cross's influential assertion: "At all events, we must insist that in the Baal cycle we are dealing with a version of a mythic literature common to the Canaanites and to those who shared their culture from the border of Egypt to the Amanus in the Middle and Late Bronze Age" (1973: 113). By contrast, scholars of the Franco-Syrian archaeological team at Ras Shamra have been the most vocal proponents of a more local approach to Ugaritic literature. See, e.g., Bordreuil 1984, 1991; cf. M. S. Smith 2001b: 203–4.

    The relationship between literature and history that I have in mind must not be confused with some ancient scholars' tendency to read literary texts as romans à clef that reflect historical events or political organization. Jacobsen's studies of Sumerian "primitive democracy" (1943, 1957) initiated such an approach within ancient Near Eastern studies, which Wilcke (1974, 1993) has since developed further. Cooper (2001) provides a powerful critique of such treatments of Sumerian literary texts. Similar methodological assumptions have been employed to argue that the conflicts between gods in the Ugaritic poem about Baal reflect religious wars that took place in ancient Syria (Fensham 1979: 272).
48 J. Z. Smith 1982: 89.
49 Cassirer 1946: 297
50 Cassirer was by no means alone in this sentiment. His contemporary Marcel Mauss, for instance, reflected on the relationship between the horrific events of midcentury and his work on primitive societies in a letter to Svend Ranulf dated November 6, 1939: "Durkheim, and after him, the rest of us, are, I believe, those who founded the theory of the authority of collective representation. That large modern societies, which have otherwise more or less emerged from the Middle Ages, could be hypnotized like Australians are by their dances and be set going around like children, is something that we never foresaw. This return to the primitive wasn't the object of our thoughts" (quoted in Ranulf 1939: 32).
51 Cassirer 1946: 281.
52 Cassirer 1946: 298.
53 Gordon 2010: 312. Cassirer could just as well have been writing about himself when, in assessing the rise of contemporary political myth, he concluded, "In desperate situations man will always have recourse to desperate means" (1946: 279).
54 Cassirer 1946: 286.

2 The Baal Cycle and Bronze Age politics

Ugarit used poetry to express political ideas. On its surface that poetry shares many themes and motifs with the mythology of Ugarit's neighbors. Narratives of a storm-god's combat with the sea, for instance, are broadly attested in the Bronze and Iron ages from Mesopotamia through Syria and the Levant to Anatolia and Greece. Much work has been done to collect and collate these commonalities, less to tease out the significance of their differences. It is precisely in these subtle differences that the Baal Cycle conveys some of its most radical ideas about politics.

To appreciate the poem's radicality, it is necessary to reinhabit the milieu where it was first produced and performed. Fortunately, there are abundant resources for reconstructing the political events and ideas that constituted Ugarit's world. The experience of politics in the Late Bronze Age – the ways it functioned; the ways it was represented in speech, text, and image; and the tensions that emerged between these two – is attested in the archives of diplomatic texts unearthed from el-Amarna in Egypt to Boğazköy in Asia Minor. These sources offer access to the relations between the Great Kings of Egypt, Babylonia, Assyria, and Hatti, as well as the affairs of petty kings throughout Syria and the Levant. The site of Ras Shamra, above all, has provided ample material detailing the practice of politics in the Kingdom of Ugarit.

Scholars have used these sources to write the political history of the Late Bronze Age with a precision rarely possible in the study of the ancient world.[1] Treaties provide access to the political alignments of the period, annals supply accounts of military campaigns, and diplomatic correspondence ushers us into a world of power jockeying and court intrigue. These documents can also be used to construct a contemporary lens through which to approach Ugaritic poetry as its ancient audience might have done. Of course, it is impossible to transform oneself completely into a member of the Ugaritic court hearing the poem for the first time, but the richness of the extant sources does allow one to get as close as one could hope when dealing with the ancient Near East.

This study makes systematic use of the available Late Bronze Age political and diplomatic sources to provide a new interpretation of the Ugaritic poem. Traditionally, scholarship has segregated these sources – which are written

mostly in Akkadian – from the poetic and ritual texts written in Ugaritic. Several factors have contributed to this. Most simply, texts tend to be divided by language and then studied by these languages' respective experts. Ugaritic, being a northwest Semitic language, historically often fell to those expert in Hebrew. Practically speaking, this has meant that exegesis of the poems, beyond purely linguistic study, has tended to be pursued by those who also work on the Hebrew Bible – a situation reinforced by the "religious" orientation of the most-studied Ugaritic texts.[2]

In contrast to the Ugaritic texts taken up by biblical scholars and historians of religion, the texts from Ras Shamra written in Akkadian have appealed mainly to political, social, and economic historians. Mario Liverani, for instance, turned to this corpus when writing his doctoral dissertation, which was published as *Storia di Ugarit nell'eta degli archivi politici* in 1962. This material has remained a rich source for subsequent studies of political history, ancient economics, and social structure. It has rarely interested scholars working on the Ugaritic literary and ritual texts – and vice versa.[3] This study attempts to redress this unnatural divide.

A tendency for treating mythological texts as emerging from the distant past has impeded proper scholarly engagement with this direct historical evidence. As discussed in the previous chapter, this bias has been exacerbated by the desire to use the Ugaritic poems as evidence for Canaanite mythology as the "other" to ancient Israelite religion. This has resulted in severing Ugaritic poetry from its historical and geographic find spot. "At all events," Frank Moore Cross declares in *Canaanite Myth and Hebrew Epic*, "we must insist that in the Ba'l cycle we are dealing with a version of a mythic literature common to the Canaanites and to those who shared their culture from the border of Egypt to the Amanus in the Middle and Late Bronze Age."[4] If Cross is correct, there is little reason to get bogged down in the historical context of the tablets in our possession because it is only by chance that the story survived for us to discover it at Ugarit and not elsewhere. I intend to show that this is not the case.

Mircea Eliade's approach to the history of religions similarly tended to direct attention away from the nitty-gritty of historical context. For Eliade, "The interest in the Ugaritic documents lies above all in the fact that they illustrate the phases of the passage from one religious ideology to another."[5] Though the Eliadean era in the history of religions is, perhaps, closed, Ugaritic studies has not yet fully overcome his influence (see Chapter 4). As part of his career-long critique of the Eliadean project, Jonathan Z. Smith has suggested, "Characteristic history of religions materials such as myths are best approached as 'common stories,' as pieces of prosaic discourse rather than multivalent, condensed, highly symbolic speech." For Smith, "there is *no privilege* to myth or other religious materials. They must be understood primarily as texts in context, specific acts of communication between specified individuals, at specific points in time and space, about specifiable subjects."[6]

In my study, I try to follow Smith's advice by moving away from the long tradition of studying the Baal Cycle diachronically in the context of northwest Semitic religion and literature. I give precedence to the often-overlooked contemporaneous sources from the archives of Ugarit and its neighbors that allow a synchronic study of the poem.[7] Ultimately, this path of interpretation will root the Baal Cycle in Ugarit's particular historical experience at the end of the Bronze Age. Only in so doing, I argue, can the specific intellectual work that the poem accomplishes be properly brought into view. Serious diachronic work can be built only on the basis of such an understanding.

This raises the question of dating the Baal Cycle. The problem can be divided in two: dating the story attested on the tablets and dating the tablets themselves. As mentioned, a prominent scholarly tradition has assigned the story to an archaic past. Laying the foundation for much subsequent discussion, W. F. Albright declared that the Baal Cycle "is much more archaic [than the Kirta and Aqhat epics] and may easily contain elements little changed for many centuries before the date of our copies."[8] Echoing Albright, Ulf Oldenburg asserted that the Baal Cycle was "faithfully transmitted, perhaps orally, with an amazing correctness" for centuries before being set in writing.[9] The difficulty with such arguments is that Ugaritic is actually our oldest preserved body of extended texts written in West Semitic. There are no well-documented earlier stages with which to compare it, making the absolute linguistic dating of different Ugaritic texts a delicate affair.

Although Dennis Pardee, the dean of Ugaritic philology, has made the most up-to-date argument for Ilimilku as author of the Baal Cycle, Ed Greenstein has recently reaffirmed the position that the poem is an archaic composition that significantly predates the tablets on which it was found.[10] Though Greenstein points to intriguing differences in word choice and phrasing that set the Baal Cycle apart, on current evidence these more likely represent sporadic displays of archaic style than an early phase of the language.[11] Although the poem unquestionably draws on ancient themes and likely employs conventional phrases, the evidence adduced to support the claim that in its present form the entire Baal Cycle was transmitted verbatim for generations is not compelling.

Another obstacle to thinking about the poem as engaged with the realities of its day comes from assumptions about cuneiform scribal activity. Years ago, Leo Oppenheim famously described Mesopotamian scribal culture as a "stream of tradition" consisting in a "corpus of literary texts maintained, controlled, and carefully kept alive by a tradition served by successive generations of learned and well-trained scribes." According to Oppenheim, "It was considered an essential part of the training of each scribe to copy faithfully the texts that made up the stream of tradition."[12] The educational system at the heart of this Mesopotamian tradition was exported to Ugarit, as attested by the school texts in logo-syllabic cuneiform discovered in several locations.[13] But this only holds for education in Mesopotamian cuneiform; suggestions that the system for training logo-syllabic

scribes was calqued to produce a system for educating alphabetic cuneiform scribes remain unpersuasive.[14] Alphabetic cuneiform did not require as elaborate a curriculum, and it did not exist long enough to produce a stream of tradition. Moreover, no duplicates of the Baal Cycle or any other Ugaritic literary text have been found – as might be expected if it belonged to a textual stream of tradition.[15] Furthermore, as I will discuss presently, Ilimilku was likely an accomplished statesman when he wrote the Baal Cycle, not a young scribe completing his training as one would expect if the poem were part of an established curriculum. All told, there is little reason to believe that Ilimilku was operating in a copying tradition, let alone that he was restrained by one. In fact, Ilimilku himself quite self-consciously asserts of one of his works: "nobody taught it to me!"[16]

Lacking any solid evidence that the tablets we possess record a poem that was passed on without significant alteration for centuries, I believe it is most prudent to begin studying these unique documents in the context in which they were found. And yet, it is important to state clearly that the core argument of this book – namely, that the Baal Cycle was not a vehicle for promoting Bronze Age royal ideology but for thinking critically about that ideology – does not depend on the date of the poem's composition. Even if more thorough linguistic analysis were to show conclusively that the poem is older than the tablets on which it is inscribed, or if older copies of the poem were one day to be found, this would not affect the literary readings presented later in this book. Though I make use of contextual evidence from the late thirteenth century, I never take the poem to be a roman à clef. The Baal Cycle speaks about the kind of things that happen in Bronze Age politics, not particular political events. The wisdom the poem displays could have been acquired earlier in Ugarit's history. Even so, I believe the late thirteenth century provides the most compelling context for the poem's production.

Which brings me to when the tablets in our possession were written. Though older scholarship attributed them to the fourteenth century, thanks to the work of Pardee and the current French epigraphic team, the dating of the extant tablets has now shifted to the late thirteenth century.[17] The monarch named in the poem's colophon is no longer taken to be Niqmaddu II (ca. 1350–1315 BCE), a contemporary of Hittite king Suppiluliuma I, but rather Niqmaddu III (ca. 1225/20–1215 BCE) who reigned toward the end of Ugarit's existence.[18] This change is consistent with the tendency for cuneiform archives to date to the period preceding a city's destruction. More definitive, however, is the simple fact that the cuneiform alphabet used to inscribe the poem had likely not yet been invented during the fourteenth-century reign of Niqmaddu II.[19] Ammistamru II – the king of Ugarit who received Tudhaliya IV's edict embossed with the seal of divine embrace – was responsible for the linguistic reform that made writing in alphabetic cuneiform possible.[20] Accordingly, the tablets in our possession were written for the penultimate king of Ugarit sometime in the final quarter of the thirteenth century.

The scribe of the Baal Cycle identifies himself as Ilimilku. Who was he? Once the tablets are no longer taken to date to the fourteenth century, a number of important pieces of evidence fall into place.

The colophon to the final tablet of the Baal Cycle reads, "The scribe: Ilimilku the Shubbanite, disciple of Attenu diviner, chief of the priests, chief of the cultic herdsmen; *ṯa'āyu*-official of Niqmaddu, king of Ugarit, lord of YRGB, master (of) ṮRMN."[21] Though there has been some argument about which offices apply to which individual, it can be safely concluded that Ilimilku held the position of *ṯa'āyu*-official of Niqmaddu because of a shorter colophon to the Kirta Epic that reads simply, "The scribe: Ilimilku, *ṯa'āyu*-official."[22] The office, written SUKKAL in logo-syllabic texts, was that of royal secretary or chamberlain. This puts Ilimilku in a prominent position in Ugaritic society when he wrote the tablets for the king.

The Baal Cycle tablets, along with those pertaining to the Kirta and Aqhat epics, were discovered in the House of the High Priest during the first seasons of excavation (Figure 2.1). All three poems have colophons naming Ilimilku. A mythico-magical text about the god Horanu, also with an Ilimilku colophon, came to light in 1992 thanks to the discovery of the House of Urtenu.[23] Because the archive in the House of Urtenu clearly dates to the latter half of the thirteenth century, the new discovery further suggests that Ilimilku lived at that time.[24] Furthermore, the discovery of the mythico-magical text in Urtenu's house provides a link between Ilimilku and Urtenu. The latter was a figure of some importance who was involved in extensive political, economic, and scribal activities.[25]

A letter addressed to Urtenu containing a message from Ilimilku strengthens the link between the two individuals.[26] Discovered together with the new mythico-magical text, the letter contains a message from the queen followed by a message from Ilimilku. According to the letter, the queen and Ilimilku were together on a sea voyage destined for the Hittite territory in Cilicia; the trip's exact purpose remains unclear. Ilimilku's section opens, "Message of Ilimilku: To Urtenu, my brother, say . . ." (*tḥm . 'ilmlk . l . 'urtn . 'iḫy rgm*). The term "brother" here marks the two men as social equals. From this double letter we learn that Ilimilku was not only an associate of Urtenu, but also an intimate of the queen.[27]

Ilimilku's political connections do not stop here. Three Akkadian texts, long overlooked because Ilimilku was thought to have lived in the fourteenth century, may now plausibly be added to the dossier attesting to the career of the individual who wrote the Baal Cycle. The first is an Akkadian letter, written in an Assyrian dialect and script, discovered in the House of the High Priest not far from where the Baal Cycle was found.[28] The addressee's name is written logographically as ^{I}DINGIR.LUGAL, using the signs for "god" and "king" that correspond to the compound Ugaritic name Ili-milku.[29] The letter reads:

> Thus Belu-bur, your brother: To Ilimilku, my brother, say: Regards to my brother! May the gods of the land of Ugarit guard you, my brother. Now,

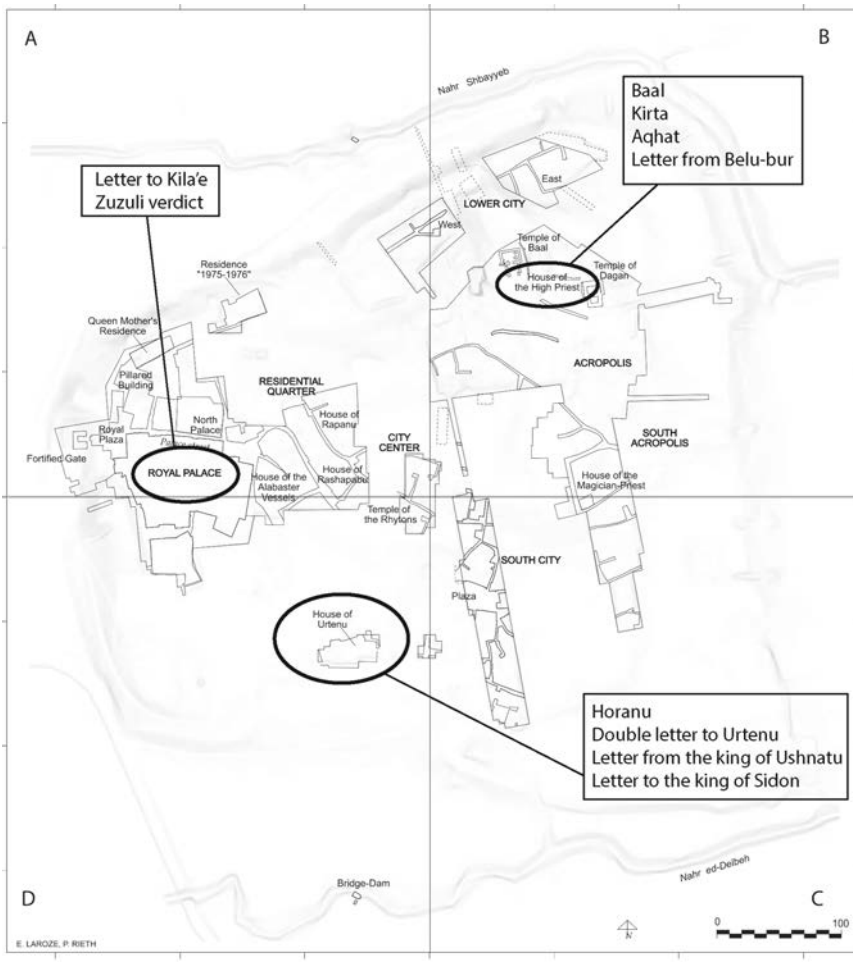


Figure 2.1 Map of Tell Ras Shamra showing archaeological finds related to Ilimilku

Source: Adapted from Marguerite Yon, *The City of Ugarit at Tell Ras Shamra*. Winona Lake, Indiana: Eisenbrauns, 2006.

> Numena the envoy came to me, but you did not send news of your well-being. Now, read before the queen the tablets that I have sent you and speak my good words to her. When Numena the envoy comes to me, I will have sent to my brother immediately whatever at all my brother would take.

Belu-bur's request that Ilimilku deliver a message to the queen is fitting for a man who appears, from the previously discussed letter, to have been her companion on

a sea voyage. Thureau-Dangin identifies Belu-bur (*Be-lu-bu-ur*) with the Assyrian official Belu-libur, who was active in the second half of the thirteenth century under Adad-nirari I, Shalmaneser I, and Tukulti-Ninurta I.[30] The synchronism fits with the other pieces of evidence attesting to Ilimilku's career, deepening our sense of Ilimilku as a man active in the diplomatic activities of his city.

The second overlooked Akkadian text reinforces this impression of Ilimilku as a man who served at the highest diplomatic level. Discovered in the palace, the text is a letter from the king and queen of Ugarit to Kila'e, a high-ranking Hittite official.[31] The king and queen inform Kila'e that they are sending an envoy to the Hittite king. The envoy's name is written logo-syllabically as ^{I}DINGIR-*mil-ku*; given what we know about Ilimilku, it seems probable that we are once more dealing with the same individual. Did the scribe of the Baal Cycle ever meet the king of Hatti? The fact that this letter was discovered in Ugarit raises doubts as to whether the trip took place. Be that as it may, the letter places Ilimilku at the center of international political activity. Together with the letter from Belu-bur, this text suggests that Ilimilku was on the front line of his city's engagement with both the Assyrian and Hittite empires.

The third is a verdict in a lawsuit between Niqmaddu III and Kumiya-ziti, probably a rich merchant from the port town of Ura in western Cilicia.[32] Zuzuli, the *kartappu*-official of the king of Carchemish, judges in favor of the king of Ugarit.[33] Among the distinguished individuals representing Ugarit as witnesses is a man named Ilimilku, son of Burzanu (^{I}DINGIR.LUGAL DUMU ^{I}*bur*$_5$-*za-n*[*a*]).[34] If this is the man who wrote the Baal Cycle, this text once again places him at the center of negotiations between Ugarit and Hatti. The tablet was written by Nu'me-Rashap, son of Abaya, a prolific scribe who worked for Ammistamru II, Ibiranu, and Niqmaddu III and was an associate of Urtenu.[35] It is possible that he was also the messenger that Belu-bur refers to as Numena in his letter to Ilimilku because this is a standard hypocoristic for names of the form Nu'me-DN. Several documents from the House of Urtenu using this hypocoristic likely also refer to the well-known scribe.[36] If Nu'me-Rashap and Numena are the same person, the ties binding Ilimilku to Urtenu's circle and the foreign affairs of Ugarit are even stronger.[37]

In addition to these long-known texts, two newly published Akkadian letters from the House of Urtenu connect Ilimilku to the diplomatic activities of the kingdom. In a letter from the king of Ushnatu to the king of Ugarit, Ilimilku (^{I}DINGIR-*li*-LUGAL) is identified as Ugarit's envoy involved in legal dealings between the two neighboring kingdoms.[38] He also appears to have helped his king handle a situation involving an Ugaritic ship that had to dock in Sidon for repairs.[39] Both texts depict Ilimilku as the king's right-hand man. Finally, an alphabetically written receipt puts Ilimilku in charge of the transport of copper (and perhaps tin) between Ugarit and the Hittite empire.[40]

Table 2.1 Textual Attestations of Ilimilku

	Baal Kirta Aqhat	*Mythico-magical text about Horanu*	*Double letter to Urtenu*	*Letter from Belu-bur*	*Letter to Kila'e*	*Zuzuli verdict*	*Letter from the king of Ushnatu*	*Letter to the king of Sidon*
ṯa'āyu-official	✓							
Disciple of Attenu	✓	✓						
Associated with Urtenu		✓	✓	(✓)			✓	✓
Associated with the queen			✓	✓	✓			
Associated with the king	✓				✓	✓	✓	✓
Associated with foreign affairs			(✓)	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓

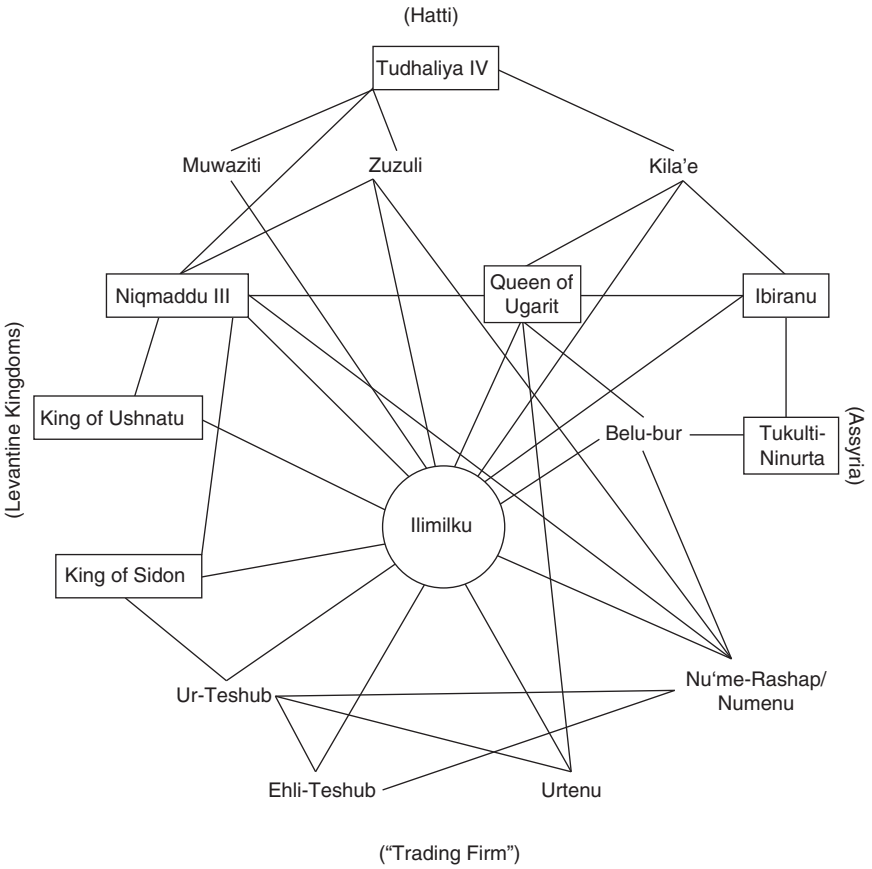


Figure 2.2 "Ilimilku's network"

None of the literary readings of the Baal Cycle presented later in this book depend on its poet having had the political career documented by these sources. Nevertheless, such a career would be entirely appropriate for a man who served as *ṯa'āyu*-official of the king – a title Ilimilku the poet claims in the colophon to his poem. Furthermore, even if the attestations of Ilimilku discussed earlier do not all refer to the man who wrote the Baal Cycle, they remain useful for painting a picture of elite Ugaritic society. These and related documents suggest that Ugarit was run by a small cadre of literate individuals who simultaneously engaged in political, economic, and scholarly activities. The discovery of diplomatic correspondence in private homes, alongside long-distance trade records and scribal exercises, attests to this overlapping of spheres. Ugarit differed from its imperial neighbors in that despite having a king, power seems to have been widely distributed between the members of society's upper echelon; there was neither a strict hierarchy nor a fixed bureaucracy with a rigid division of labor. In such a milieu, a

ṯa ʿāyu-official who wrote poetry while also participating in an international trading firm would not have been an anomaly.

As I will discuss further, many of the interactions between deities in the Baal Cycle take the form of diplomatic relations. It is worth noting that both the Akkadian letters that involve Ilimilku evoke situations that have literary analogues in the Baal Cycle. Ilimilku's mission to the king of Hatti parallels that of Yamm's envoy to El (*KTU* 1.2 I), whereas Baal's entreaty to Athirat to intercede on his behalf is reminiscent of Belu-bur's similar request (*KTU* 1.4 III). These episodes are unique to Ilimilku's poem and are not found in other accounts of a storm-god's combat with the sea. Significantly, both Akkadian letters likely belong to the events surrounding the Hittite-Assyrian war.[41] They therefore date to the reign of Ibiranu (ca. 1235–1225/20) and so before the reign of Niqmaddu III. Ilimilku would have written the poem after being involved in the diplomatic activities the letters attest. He would have been an elder statesman by the time he wrote the Baal Cycle.[42]

Though the internal readings of the poem developed in Chapters 4 through 6 do not depend on this identification, I believe it is appropriate, given the interlocking nature of the evidence, to treat Ilimilku as an experienced diplomat who authored the Baal Cycle later in life, and I do so through the remainder of this book. We may therefore ask: How much of his acquired political wisdom did Ilimilku work into the poem? A proper answer to this question ultimately depends on the analysis of the poem's contents offered in the second half of this book. I believe that analysis will bear out the suggestion that his work forms the capstone of the "audacious cultural and scholarly innovation" that took place at Ugarit in the middle of the thirteenth century.[43]

Seth Sanders has convincingly shown that the choice to write in the vernacular was a significant political act in the Late Bronze Age.[44] Similarly, Robert Hawley, Dennis Pardee, and Carole Roche-Hawley have recently described the situation at Ugarit:

> Rather than insisting on belonging to and perpetuating the (foreign) Mesopotamian literary tradition, the alphabetic scribes of Ugarit seem instead to be insisting on their independence, affirming the fact that they and their work represent not so much continuity as instead a profound rupture with previous scholarly tradition (a rupture which, incidentally, would turn out to be more or less irreversible for the Levant). This rupture can be observed most obviously in the choice to write the local language (instead of the traditional Mesopotamian languages of learning), and to use a locally developed alphabetic script (instead of the traditional Mesopotamian cuneiform script). The political sponsorship behind the promulgation and institutionalization of this local cuneiform alphabet seems to be datable to the mid-thirteenth century BC, made manifest in the personal seal of Ammi*ṯ*tamru [II].[45]

I claim that Ilimilku's poetic production was as politically audacious as the linguistic reform that came before it. Working with traditional themes and phrases, the elder statesman fabricated a poem that turned tradition on its head. This audacity has gone unnoticed even by scholars interested in the politics of poetry because it has been assumed that a poem written for a king must affirm the royal ideology of kingship's divine foundation.[46] By closely looking at the content of the Baal Cycle against the backdrop of the political world of the Late Bronze Age, I intend to show that the political wisdom that Ilimilku embedded in his poetic work was both more subtle and more radical.

***

I am not the first to link the poem's contents to the political world that surrounded its production. In a 1967 article on treaty terminology in the Bible, the renowned northwest Semitic philologist Jonas Greenfield noted that several phrases in the Baal Cycle echo the language of Late Bronze Age treaties.[47] He drew attention to two passages in particular. In one, Baal admits to being Mot's "eternal vassal" (*KTU* 1.5 II 12); in the other, El declares that Baal is a vassal of Yamm and so must bring tribute to the sea-god (*KTU* 1.2 I 36–38).

These passages employ the same terminology that would have been used to articulate relationships of parity, subjugation, and domination between polities in the Late Bronze Age. It is, in fact, the kind of language found in numerous documents attesting to Ugarit's political relationship with the kingdom of Hatti, the great imperial power that controlled much of Syria in the Late Bronze Age. El's comment that Baal must bring tribute (*ybl 'argmn*) echoes an Ugaritic document (*KTU* 3.1:24–26) that identifies "the tribute that Niqmaddu, king of Ugarit, shall bring to the Sun, the Great King, his lord" (*'argmn . nqmd . mlk 'ugrt . d ybl . l špš mlk . rb . b'lh*).[48]

In addition to recognizing political terminology in the Baal Cycle, scholars have begun to pay special attention to the familial relationships among the poem's deities. In his work on the patrimonial household at Ugarit, David Schloen maps those relationships onto the typical kinship relationships and rivalries found in Mediterranean joint-family households.[49] This model affords a vantage on to the interactions among deities in the poem. Building on Schloen's work, Mark S. Smith and Wayne Pitard have argued that the Baal Cycle's depiction of Baal's rise corresponds to the succession of a young king in a royal household. "The imagery used [in the Baal Cycle]," they write, "is that of regular royal succession, in which the old patriarch/king, toward the end of his reign, appoints his successor, who then takes on both the title of king and the duties delegated to him by the patriarch."[50] They argue that the poem ends in the establishment of coregency between El and Baal. By this reading, the combats depicted in the poem are meant to evoke the struggles between competing successors to the throne.

Though the poem no doubt plays on recognizable aspects of familial rivalry, this study shifts focus to how the epic employs kinship as a metaphor for international

politics. This is in keeping with the practice among monarchs of Ugarit's day, who used kinship language to define their relationships to each other, as though the international system were one large family.[51] Approaching the poem this way makes better sense of the phrases discussed by Greenfield. Whereas people regularly framed diplomacy in familial terms, nobody seems to have characterized relationships in an actual household with terminology taken from the realm of foreign affairs. Though a term like "servant" (*'bd*) can be found in both contexts, it is difficult to see what "bringing tribute" (*ybl 'argmn*) would mean in a household situation. Greenfield's observations point to reading the divine familial relationships in light of the contemporary political metaphor.

The Baal Cycle's image of international political relationships harnesses a potential inherent in ancient Near Eastern polytheism. Deities of the day were often understood to be attached to a particular city or region, often as its patron.[52] This allowed political events to be expressed in terms of the divine actions of particular gods. A defeat in war could be conceived of as the subjugation of one city's god to that of another. For instance, a text from Mari (ARM 26.196), discussed more fully in the next chapter, presents the collapse of earthly polities as the result of divine judgments against their patron deities. The Baal Cycle takes advantage of this feature of local religion. By exploiting the commonly held idea that deities had political identities, the poem presents a narrative that takes place among the gods but comments on earthly international interactions.

"The gods are not envisioned in Ugaritic mythology as living together in 'heaven,'" write Smith and Pitard, "but rather at different locales around the earth, primarily on the mountains. The gods must make substantial journeys to get from one divine abode to another. Regular communication between them is portrayed as relatively rare and primarily through messengers."[53] The Baal Cycle evokes the realities of long-distance communication that governed ancient diplomatic correspondence. Just as the king of Babylon complains that his Egyptian "brother" has not come to visit him, only to be educated by a messenger about the great distances separating Babylonia and Egypt (EA 7:14–32), Kothar-wa-Hasis, the Ugaritic craftsman-god, remarks to El's messengers that the two gods live at a great distance from one another (*KTU* 1.1 IV 18–19). The Ugaritic poem focuses on the gods' geographic separation, and the gods' interactions are modeled on the international correspondence of Late Bronze Age kings.[54]

Ilimilku crafted his poetic inheritance to establish this international horizon. A comparison with Homer crystallizes the Baal Cycle's poetic vision in this regard. At the end of the first book of the *Iliad*, the gods feast together. In this, they are not unlike their Semitic cousins of half a millennium earlier. After feasting, however, each returns home, and herein lies the difference:

> But when the bright light of the sun went down, they went each to his own house to take their rest where for each a house had been built with cunning

> skill by the famed Hephaestus, the god of the two lame legs; and Zeus the Olympian, lord of the lightning, went to his bed where he had always taken his rest when sweet sleep came on him. There he went up and slept, and beside him lay Hera of the golden throne.[55]

Like Kothar-wa-Hasis who builds divine houses in the Ugaritic poem, his Greek counterpart Hephaestus is reported to have built a house for each of the Olympians. Notably, all the Greek gods' houses are located together on Mount Olympus. This grouping of the Greek gods at a single location may be connected to the politics of Panhellenism that underlies much archaic Greek poetry.[56] By contrast, the houses of the gods in the Ugaritic poem are isolated from each other, separated by great distances. This separation reflects the international perspective of the Ugaritic poem. Though the Baal Cycle and the *Iliad* share the trope of a craftsman-god building houses for the other gods, each poem employs this topos differently.

In the Bronze Age, it was common not only for individual kings to be understood as holding their kingship from the gods, but also for the international order to be thought of as rooted in a divine dispensation. For instance, a Hittite ritual recited before going off to battle represents global political divisions as having been divinely set in the past. War is justified if its aim is to reestablish this divine order when human actions have upset it. In the ritual, Zithariya, a Hittite deity whose lands have been taken by the Kashka, indicts the Kashkean deities:

> Gods of the Kashka Land, we have summoned you to (this) assembly. You must eat and drink and you must listen to the charges we raise against you. The gods of the Hatti Land did not take anything from you, from the gods of the Kashka Land, and neither did they harm you. But you gods of the Kashka Land have raised quarrel and you have driven out the gods of Hatti from the land and you have taken their land for yourselves. And the Kashka-men have also raised quarrel and you have taken away from the men of Hatti their towns and have driven them out from their fields and meadows and from their vineyards. The gods and the men of Hatti Land call for bloody vengeance. [The vengeance] of the gods of Hatti and the vengeance of the men [of Hatti will be wrought?] on you, the gods and the men [of Kashka].[57]

The indictment envisions a situation in which the Hittite gods hold the territory proper to them, whereas the Kashkean gods keep their rightful possessions on the other side of the border. This idea that the lands have been apportioned to different deities also appears in one of Mursili II's prayers.[58] The Hittite king praises the sun-goddess of Arinna as the one who "set the borders of the lands."[59] A few lines later, Mursili expresses a similar idea when he states, "You, O sun-goddess of Arinna, allot the sacrifices to the gods." Note that in the ritual the lands that belonged to Zithariya are defined as those that had been assigned for his worship.

The allotment of sacrifices and the setting of borders go hand in hand. Because each land is assigned specific gods to worship, international relations are necessarily intertwined with the divine order.

The idea of an initial division that established each god's proper portion is not unique to Hatti. A famous variant can be found in Hesiod's *Theogony*, in which Zeus distributes the honors (*timai*) to the other immortals after achieving kingship through victory over Kronos (*Theog*. 71–75, 881–85). In this Greek version, however, the apportioned honors do not correspond to political divisions; rather, they represent the different spheres inherent to human life.[60]

Closer to the Hittite text's geopolitical perspective is a much-discussed passage from the Hebrew Bible. In the poem known as "The Song of Moses," the deity Elyon is said to have divided mankind and established the borders "according to the number of the sons of God."[61] This statement is particularly relevant to the Baal Cycle because Elyon is likely another name for the god El.[62] The passage appears to reflect a tradition in which the political divisions of mankind were set by El, with each of his divine sons being assigned a different nation. El's Egyptian correlate Amun is similarly said to have "founded all the lands" in the Egyptian story of Wenamun – a text that is contemporaneous with the Baal Cycle and exhibits familiarity with northwest Semitic ideas.[63] And according to Philo of Byblos's retelling of Phoenician mythology, the god Kronos, who is identified explicitly with El, assigned different lands to the different gods.[64]

It is unlikely that such politico-theological ideas were unknown at Ugarit. And yet the Baal Cycle never explicitly mentions an initial divine geopolitical division. Although the Baal Cycle taps into tropes that provide an international political meaning to the relationship between deities, it does so without affirming the common contemporary notion that political divisions were themselves divinely ordained. Ilimilku's poem not only reflects the international order of its day, but also provides its audience with an opportunity to ponder how that order is said to be constituted. Chapters 4, 5, and 6 will investigate this proposition in detail; first, however, it will be instructive to take a detour to the Old Babylonian Period to get a better sense of how myth operated as political discourse in the ancient Near East.

Notes

1 See, inter alia, Liverani 2001; Van De Mieroop 2007; Singer 2011; Cline 2014.

2 To be sure, the Ugaritic texts' first epigrapher, Charles Virolleaud, was, by training, an Assyriologist, not a Biblicist. Nevertheless, on the whole, initial interest in the texts came from scholars of Hebrew and of Israelite religion: men such as H. L. Ginsberg, who published a translation of the Ugaritic texts in modern Hebrew as early as 1936; René Dussaud, whose *Les découvertes de Ras Shamra, Ugarit, et l'Ancien Testament* appeared the following year; and Umberto Cassuto, who immediately seized on the riches from Ugarit as part of his attempt to steer biblical studies away from German-style textual analysis (M. S. Smith 2001b: 13–50).

3 Exceptions include Liverani 1970; Schloen 2001: 349–57; and Handy 1994. Vanessa Juloux's (2016) work came to my attention only after this study was complete and so it could not be integrated into my findings; her approach to the Ugaritic poetic texts has much in common with the method adopted here.
4 Cross 1973: 113. As Pierre Bordreuil (1984, 1991) has argued, the poem's localized geographic horizon militates against severing it from the context in which it was found.
5 Eliade 1978: 150.
6 J. Z. Smith 1982: xiii.
7 For recent work in the diachronic tradition, see Ballentine 2015 and Ayali-Darshan 2016. Despite demonstrating excellent scholarship, these works fail to do full justice to the mythological texts because their working corpus remains largely limited to the various attestations of a motif over time and through space rather than the nonmythic contexts of individual attestations.
8 Albright 1958: 36.
9 Oldenburg 1969: 3. For criticism of the oral poetry model for understanding the Baal Cycle, see M. S. Smith 2014: 38, with references.
10 Pardee 2012: 41–50; Greenstein 2014.
11 Greentein's arguments are based on linguistic analysis of the Baal Cycle in comparison with the Aqhat and Kirta epics. According to Greenstein, the Baal Cycle employs archaic forms that are not found in the other poems, which suggests that "the Baal texts were composed earlier than Aqhat and Kirta, and that Ilimilku simply copied the older and younger compositions." Greenstein provides three examples, though he claims additional observations could be adduced: the disappearance of Baal is conveyed by the archaic verb *ḫlq*, whereas the perishing of Kirta's family is conveyed by the verb *abd*; the Baal Cycle generally uses the apocopated verbal form *wy'n*, "he spoke up," whereas the unapocopated form *wy'ny* appears disproportionately in Kirta; and whereas the counting formula is presented in its full form in the Baal Cycle, it is always abbreviated in Aqhat and Kirta. Taking up Greenstein's final example first, there is no reason to believe that both ways of counting could not coexist at the same moment in Ugaritic history; at most, the counting formulas might suggest different authors for the poems, not different dates – and only if one assumes a rigid consistency in authorial style. Greenstein's second example is curious, because he himself has argued previously (2006: 83–4) that apocopation is not a sign of earliness or lateness but a synchronic feature. Finally, even if the verb *ḫlq* were actually more archaic in Ugaritic than the verb *abd*, this would not indicate that one poem was older than the other. Because spelling, word choice, and stereotyped phrases are more salient than syntax, they are easier to teach, learn, and imitate – making them poor markers of the age of a text; a consistently archaic style is better judged by overall patterns of verbal syntax than sporadic patterns of word choice, phrasing, or grammatical form (Joosten 2016: 324–5; Notarius 2013: 296; cf. Young 1998, 2003). Most decisively, however, the poet of Aqhat also uses the verb *ḫlq* to refer to his hero's perishing (1.18 IV 40–41) – just like Baal's perishing in the Baal Cycle (cf. M. S. Smith 2014: 135). And yet, even if Greenstein is correct that the Baal Cycle employs disproportionate older terms and phrases, this could be for poetic rather than historical reasons. Ugaritic authors appear to have preferred elevated language when talking about the gods (Sanders 2004). The Baal Cycle's setting among the gods differs from the earthly horizon of Aqhat and Kirta, and so variation in poetic register should not be surprising. Greenstein's claim, therefore, that "one would expect to find relative homogeneity of language and style" between the Aqhat and Kirta epics and the Baal Cycle if they were all the product of Ilimilku's creativity does not hold.
12 Oppenheim 1964: 13–14. For more recent treatments of Mesopotamian scribal education see, inter alia, Gesche 2000; Robson 2001; and Veldhuis 2014.
13 van Soldt 1995; Fincke 2012.

14 See Carr 2005: 52–6; Hawley 2008. Seth Sanders (2017: 3–6) has convincingly refuted the claim that the alphabetic curriculum at Ugarit was modeled on the Mesopotamian system for learning logo-syllabic cuneiform.
15 van Soldt 1995: 186–7; Hawley, Pardee, and Roche-Hawley 2016: 250. Some scholars have interpreted certain epigraphic details as copying errors and hence as evidence of a copying tradition (Segert 1958; Horwitz 1973, 1977; cf. Xella 1991). Such claims remain speculative as they rest on questionable assumptions about how to distinguish copying errors from errors resulting from free composition. There is also no reason to believe that multiple copies could not have been made during Niqmaddu's reign; evidence of copying is not necessarily evidence of a copying tradition.
16 Pardee (2014) points out that in the colophon to the mythico-magical text discovered in the House of Urtenu (discussed further later), Ilimilku includes the phrase "and nobody taught [it] to me" (*w . 'ind ylmdnn*). He takes this to mean that Ilimilku was identifying himself as having freely composed the text. In addition to Pardee, Korpel (1998) and Wyatt (2002a) are notable for treating Ilimilku as an author engaged with the political events of his day, though their approach ultimately differs significantly from my own.
17 See Pardee 2014, with references, for a synthesis of the French team's findings.
18 For the dates of reigns, I follow Singer 2011: 128–9. The recent discovery of four king lists shows that there were in fact four kings named Niqmaddu who ruled over Ugarit in the fifteenth and fourteenth centuries (Arnaud 1999). I nevertheless maintain the traditional numbering of the fourteenth-century Niqmaddu as "II" and the thirteenth-century king as "III."
19 Pardee 2007c, 2010. Only one alphabetic tablet (*KTU* 3.1) besides the Ilimilku poems has been attributed to the reign of this Niqmaddu II, an attribution that has since been put in doubt. The text is a treaty-type document with a tribute list that names Niqmaddu of Ugarit and Suppiluliuma of Hatti. Pardee (2001a) has argued that the names refer to the thirteenth-century monarchs Niqmaddu III and Suppiluliuma II. Considering it unlikely for such a treaty-document to have been produced at the time of Suppiluliuma II (i.e., the end of the Hittite empire), Wilfred van Soldt has suggested an alternative explanation of the alphabetic text (personal communication). Because the Ugaritic text is closer in detail to the treaties of a later date than to the Akkadian treaty between Niqmaddu II and Suppiluliuma I, van Soldt considers it to be a summary document that kept Suppiluliuma I's name from the original Akkadian treaty but was produced at a later date and reflects the reformulated tribute demands of the later period. The text is therefore not an example of the alphabetic script being used during the reign of Niqmaddu II but may rather attest to the introduction of the alphabetic script for administrative purposes at the time of the later treaties. Whether one follows Pardee or van Soldt, the likelihood that RS 11.722^{+} dates to the fourteenth century is small.
20 Hawley, Pardee, and Roche-Hawley 2016.
21 *KTU* 1.6 vi 53–57. For a discussion of the Baal Cycle colophons, with references, see *UBC* 2, 724–30 and Hawley, Pardee, and Roche-Hawley 2016: 247–53. On Attenu and the office of "diviner" (*prln*), see Pardee 2015.
22 *KTU* 1.16. Cf. the fragmentary colophon to the fourth tablet of the Baal Cycle (*KTU* 1.4): "[The scribe: Ilimilku, *ṯa*]*"āyu*-official of Niqmaddu, king of Ugarit." On the office of *ṯa'āyu*-official, see van Soldt 1988; Malbran-Labat and Roche 2007: 90–3.
23 RS 92.2016 (*RSO* XIV 53).
24 Bordreuil and Malbran-Labat 1995.
25 Malbran-Labat and Roche 2007.
26 RS 94.2406 (*RSO* XVIII 60); translated in *COS* 3.45R:102–3. On the historical context and travel itinerary, see Sauvage and Pardee 2015 and van Soldt 2016.
27 Other texts that connect Ilimilku to the trading firm that operated out of the House of Urtenu include the Akkadian texts RS 34.171 (*RSO* VII 20) and RS 94.2417 (*RSO* XXIII 59); the latter, a letter from Ilimilku to Urtenu regarding a shipment of oil, suggests that Ilimilku was the hierarchical superior because he places his name first in the greeting formula.

28 RS 6.198. First published in Thureau-Dangin 1935; cf. Lackenbacher 2002: 297–8.
29 Lackenbacher 2002: 297, n. 1071. Scribes sometimes added a phonetic complement to indicate that logographically spelled names should be read as representing words in Ugaritic; see, for example, $^{\text{l}}$DINGIR-*li*-LUGAL in RS 94.2445 (*RSO* XXIII 42).
30 Wilfred van Soldt (1991: 28) has challenged the identification on phonetic grounds.
31 RS 19.070 (*PRU* IV, 294). Kila'e also appears as a *kartappu*-official in RS 17.112 (*PRU* IV, 234). For Kila'e's position in the Hittite administration, see Pecchioli Daddi 1977: 174 and Singer 2011: 155–6.
32 RS 18.20 + 17.371 (*PRU* IV, 202–3). On the location and economic importance of Ura, see Beal 1992 and Lemaire 1993.
33 On Zuzuli's career as a Hittite official, see d'Alfonso 2005: 77–8 and Lebrun 2014: 178–87. According to two recently published Akkadian letters from the House of Urtenu (RS 94.2352 [*RSO* XXIII 4] and RS 94.2375 [*RSO* XXIII 95]), Niqmaddu III was ordered to provide troops to the Hittite official, now acting as *ša rēši* of the king of Hatti, but instead denied Zuzuli entrance to Ugarit – for which he was severely chastized by the Hittite king.
34 Wilfred van Soldt provided the revised reading of the patronymic (email correspondence, February 28, 2017). Also present as a witness was Takuhlinu, an elder statesman who held important positions in the administration of Ugarit after having served as Ugarit's representative at the Hittite court in Carchemish; on Takhulinu's career, see Singer 2011: 150–64.
35 Malbran-Labat and Roche 2007: 81–2; Roche-Hawley and Hawley 2013.
36 According to Wilfred van Soldt, the form "Numena" is the genitive/accusative of the hypocoristic "Numenu" (email correspondence, November 13, 2012); cf. van Soldt 2012a. Three texts from the House of Urtenu refer to an individual with a hypocoristic that could refer to Nu'me-Rashap: a letter in which the "Great Wife" tells her son Niqmaddu III about news she has received from Nummena (RS 94.2361+ [*RSO* XXIII 25]); a letter in which Ehli-Teshub instructs Ur-Teshub to ask Numenu about an oil delivery (RS 94.2412 [*RSO* XXIII 61]), which reveals that he was a member of the same trading firm that included Urtenu and Ilimilku (cf. *RSO* XXIII, p. 116); and a grant from Numenu to his wife Abagiya (RS 94.2175; Malbran-Labat 2008: 24). Numenu also appears as a witness in an international juridical text (RS 17.248 [*PRU* IV, 236–37]), where he is identified as an interpreter (*targummanu*). Though context suggests that these occurrences could refer to Nu'me-Rashap, son of Abaya, one must be cautious; a legal text from the House of Rap'anu testifies to a Numenu son of Kurwanu (RS 20.146 [*Ug*. V 83]), but it provides no relevant information as to the man's career.
37 Nu'me-Rashap appears in a legal document (RS 21.07 A [*Ug*. V 88]) as the patronymic of a witness who may be Ur-Teshub ([IGI . . .]x-$^{\text{d}}$IM DUMU $^{\text{l}}$SIG$_5$-$^{\text{d}}$MAŠ.MAŠ); cf. Malbran-Labat and Roche 2007: 86. The text also lists a witness named Ilimilku, son of Gazariya ($^{\text{l}}$DINGIR.LUGAL DUMU $^{\text{l}}$*ga-za-ri-ya*). The same man may appear as a witness to a transaction between Milki(n)-ari, *šangu*-priest of Baal, and Ewrikili, governor (*sākinu*) of Ugarit (RS 11.856 [Virolleaud 1941: 4–6]); the fragmentary name, after collation, reads $^{\text{l}}$DINGIR.LUGAL DUMU $^{\text{l}}$*g*[*a*- . . .] (email correspondence with Wilfred van Soldt, February 28, 2017). Ewrikili was active from the time of Ammistamru II through the reign of Niqmaddu III (RS 16.134 [*PRU* III, 141]; RS 16.191 + 16.272 [*KTU* 3.4]; cf. Singer 2011: 74 and Johnson 2014). This raises the possibility that two men named Ilimilku may have operated in prominent circles at Ugarit in last decades of the thirteenth century. All the other cases in which a man named Ilimilku appears with a patronymic can be dated to earlier periods or otherwise disqualified from referring to the poet of the Baal Cycle.
38 RS 94.2445 (*RSO* XXIII 42).
39 RS 94.2483 (*RSO* XXIII 56). The captain of the ship makes a report to Ilimilku; also involved is Ur-Teshub, who here holds the title of *ṯa'āyu*-official (SUKKAL). On Ur-Teshub as the son of Nu'me-Rashap, see Malbran-Labat and Roche 2007: 83–7.

40 RS 94.2409 + 94.2432 (*RSO* XVIII 51). The Hittite official overseeing the transaction may be the same Muwaziti son of Yaraziti who appears in the international juridical text RS 17.244 (*PRU* IV, 231).
41 Singer 2011: 88–91.
42 Pitard's (2008) observations on the scribal peculiarities of *KTU* 1.4 obverse need to be accounted for, but his conclusion that they reveal Ilimilku to have been a young scribe is not convincing. The argument rests on the assumption that inexperience implies youth, which certainly need not have been the case in the still-experimental literary scene of late thirteenth-century Ugarit. Because Ilimilku was already an accomplished statesman at Niqmaddu III's coronation around 1225 BCE, it is quite possible that the Ugaritic alphabet did not yet exist when he was in his youth (see later).
43 Hawley, Pardee, and Roche-Hawley 2016: 234.
44 Sanders 2009: 54–7, drawing on Pollock 2006. See, also, van Soldt 2012b.
45 Hawley, Pardee, and Roche-Hawley 2016: 260. I have amended "Ammistamru III" to "Ammistamru II" in conformity with the numbering used in Singer 2011; the reference is to the king who reigned ca. 1260–1235.
46 Pardee 2014: 48–50, following Wyatt 1996, 2005b.
47 Greenfield 2001: 2.901–6; cf. Fensham 1979.
48 Ugaritic kings are likewise designated as *ardu* "slave, servant, vassal" in the Akkadian correspondence with Hatti. See RS 16.112:3 (*PRU* III, 4), RS 15.14:10 (*PRU* III, 5), RS 20.184 *passim* (*Ug*. V, 28), RS 20.200C:2 (*Ug*. V, 29), and RS 20.243:11′ (*Ug*. V, 32).
49 For Schloen (2001: 355), the familial is in fact only one of three layers of correspondence between the divine realm and human experience. He summarizes the three layers as follows: "On the *natural* level of mythic correspondences, the battles between Ba'lu and his rivals represent the great clashes between perennial forces of nature, namely, storm and sea, fertility and death. On the *political* level they represent the struggles for supremacy among kings, with which Ugaritians of the Late Bronze Age were intimately acquainted, as they witnessed and participated in the imperial rivalries between Egypt and Ḫatti, and as their own kings jockeyed for power with their Syrian neighbors. And on the *familial* level, the sons of 'Ilu vie for preeminence in the patriarchal household, aided by their female relatives. They defer to the authority of their aged father, but they are impatient to succeed him as patriarch so that they can have a house of their own." (Original emphasis.)
50 *UBC* 2, 17.
51 On the use of "brother" as a political term among kings in the Late Bronze Age, see Liverani 2001: 135–8. See also the essays collected in Cohen and Westbrook 2000; Schloen 2001: 67 passim.
52 M. S. Smith 2008: 37–90, with references.
53 *UBC* 2, 43. See also Schloen 2001: 353–5.
54 The dispersed abodes of the Ugaritic deities is a central feature of another poetic text known as "The Mare and Horon" (*KTU* 1.100). In it, the mother of horses (*'um . pḥl . pḥlt*) asks her mother, Shapsh, the sun-goddess, to take a message to a series of deities. Each deity is identified with a geographic location; for instance, Dagan is said to be in Tuttul, Rashap in Bibit, Athtart in Mari, and Kothar-wa-Hasis in Caphtor. (For the text, with English translation and notes, see *UNP*, 219–23.) A similar account of divine geographic distribution is found in the Hittite "Tale of Appu and His Two Sons" (*CTH* 360), where Brother Wrong says to Brother Right, "The Sun God dwells in Sippar. The Moon God dwells in Kuzina. Tessub dwells in Kummiya. And Sauska dwells in Nineveh. Nanaya [dwells] in Kissina. And Marduk dwells in Babylon. As the gods dwell separately, so let us settle in different places" (Hoffner 1990: 64).
55 Homer, *Iliad*, 1.605–10 (Murray and Wyatt, LCL).
56 Nagy 1979: 5–9, 1990: 36–82. On connections between Ugaritic and Greek literature, see López-Ruiz 2010, 2014.
57 KUB 4.1 ii 1–24; translated in Singer 2007: 171–2.

58 *CTH* 376; translated in Singer 2002: 49–54.
59 On the Hittite conception of borders, see Wazana 2001.
60 As Jean-Pierre Vernant (1990: 113) explains, "The divine powers have natures sufficiently dissimilar for rivalry and conflict to exist between them. In Homer, Olympos is loud with the quarrels of the gods, in particular the arguments between Zeus and Hera. Of course, the Greeks were amused by such accounts but they knew very well that, over and above the anecdotal level, they expressed a serious truth: They saw the divine cosmos torn by tensions, contradictions, and conflicts over prerogatives and power. At the same time they were also conscious of the unity of the divine world, for all these turbulent and diverse gods are held in check by Zeus and his universal law. However, just as in the physical universe order depends upon a balance between contemporary groups, so the unity of the divine cosmos consists in a harmony between contrary powers. Although these divine powers may come into conflict and fight each other, man has no right to scorn any of them, for each represents an authentic aspect of being, expresses one part of reality, stands for a particular type of value without which the universe would, as it were, be mutilated."
61 Deut 32:8, following LXX MSS 848 and 106c and DSS 4QDeut[j]. For a discussion of the philology and references to the abundant literature on this passage, see M. S. Smith 2008: 139–43.
62 Elnes and Miller 1999.
63 "The Report of Wenamun" (*COS* 1.41:91).
64 PE 1.10.32–35, 38; Attridge and Oden 1981: 56–7, 58–9.

Taylor & Francis
Taylor & Francis Group
http://taylorandfrancis.com

3 Divine combat as political discourse at Mari

As early as 1936, just one year after the initial publication of the Baal Cycle passage attesting the storm-god's combat with the sea, W. F. Albright observed, "Yammu plays essentially the same role in Canaanite cosmogony that Tiamat and Labbu, etc., do in Mesopotamian."[1] As more attestations of divine combat with the sea have come to light, more claims about equivalencies have been proposed. In 1993, Jean-Marie Durand published a letter from Mari containing a prophecy of the storm-god of Aleppo that refers to the combat between the storm-god and the sea. The storm-god Adad mentions that he gave the weapons with which he defeated the sea (*têmtum*) to the Zimri-Lim, the king of Mari. Durand explicitly connected this prophetic statement to the narrative of the storm-god's defeat of the sea known from Ugarit.[2] Publication of the Mari letter made an immediate splash because it provided an attestation of the combat motif that was half a millennium older than either the Baal Cycle or *Enuma elish*.[3]

But the importance of Durand's publication extends beyond dating the earliest attestation of a particular myth. What distinguishes the Mari find from the Baal Cycle (and *Enuma elish*) is that it is not itself a literary narrative recounting the storm-god's exploits. Rather, those exploits are here assumed to be knowledge common to both the message's sender (Adad) and its recipient (Zimri-Lim). The letter does not tell the story of Adad's battle; it refers to it and, in so doing, uses it. As Durand rightly recognized, by alluding to the mythic narrative in this way, the letter provides valuable evidence for how the story of the storm-god's combat with the sea could function politically within Amorite culture. For Durand, it reveals that the combat myth belonged to a theory of kingship according to which the human king acquired royal sanction by means of receiving the weapons with which the storm-god had defeated the sea.[4] Scholars quickly drew the inference that the Baal Cycle, with its account of the divine combat against the sea, must have similarly served to sanction Ugarit's human king.[5]

At first glance, using the letter to interpret the poem makes sense. Adad's prophecy from Mari associates the myth of the storm-god's combat with the sea directly with rituals of enthronement and the ideology of kingship. Reading the text from Ugarit in light of the letter from Mari allows a function to be given to the

former that could not be derived from the Ugaritic evidence on its own. But generalizing about the combat motif's relationship to political legitimacy and royal ideology from Adad's letter is complicated by the fact that Adad of Aleppo was not Zimri-Lim's god. Adad was the patron god of Yamhad, Mari's more powerful neighbor to the west. The scholarly discussion has not yet taken full account of the historical circumstances in which Adad's letter was embedded. This has led to imprecision when the text is used as evidence for more general claims about ancient theologico-political thinking and speech. Though I agree with previous scholars that people in the Bronze Age must have been familiar with the notion that a king derived his legitimacy from the storm-god, Adad's letter is not a simple iteration of this idea. Rather, we must hypothesize such an idea as the background code against which both the letter from Mari and the Baal Cycle produce their individualized meanings.

Thanks to the abundant source material available from the Old Babylonian Period, a rich context can be reconstructed for the letter that provides access to the discursive and political situation in which the myth is embedded. The interpretation of the Mari letter that follows will reveal how context specific the combat myth's meaning could be. This makes drawing conclusions about the function of myths across large expanses of time and space highly questionable. Only attention to the particularities of the discourse in which a myth is evoked can allow us to see the work that that myth is doing. In the case of Adad's message, such contextualization makes it clear that the oft-discussed letter from Mari served specific political needs relating to the relationship between Mari and Yamhad. Rather than treat Adad's message as a standard for how the combat myth was generally used in the ancient Near East, we need to embrace the particularity of its local use and so recognize how malleable a myth's function could be. Holding the possibility of such malleability in mind will prove valuable when considering the Baal Cycle's purpose at Ugarit.

***

The letter, a dispatch sent from Aleppo to King Zimri-Lim in Mari, reads:

> Speak to my lord: Thus Nur-Sin, your servant: Abiya, prophet of Adad, the lord of Aleppo, came to me and said: "Thus says Adad: 'I gave the whole country to Yahdun-Lim. Thanks to my weapons, he did not meet his equal. He, however, disregarded me, so I g[av]e the land I had given to him to Samsi-Addu. Samsi-Addu [break] . . . let me re[st]ore you! I restored you to the th[rone of your father's house] and handed you the weapon[s] with which I fought with Sea. I anointed you with my splendor. Nobody will offer resistance to you. Now listen to me: When anyone cries out to you for judgment, saying: 'I have been wr[ong]ed,' be there to decide his case; an[swer him fai]rly. This is what I [desire] from you. If you go [off] to war, never do

> so [wi]thout consulting an oracle. [W]hen I become manifest in [my] oracle, go to war; if it does [not] happen, do [not] go out of the city gate.'" This is what the prophet said to me. No[w I have sent the hair of the prophet] and a fri[nge of his garment to my lord].[6]

Nur-Sin, the letter's author, was Zimri-Lim's representative at the Yamhadean court in Aleppo. The bulk of the message to Zimri-Lim is in the voice of Adad, god of Aleppo, who spoke to Nur-Sin through the intermediary of the prophet Abiya.[7] The god provides Zimri-Lim with a brief dynastic history of Mari, an expression of support for the current reign, and a pair of injunctions that he expects the king to follow.

Adad invokes his defeat of the sea in the context of claiming responsibility for putting Zimri-Lim on the throne. The meaning of the mythic reference depends on the specific historical situation of this ascension. Zimri-Lim's rise to kingship over Mari cannot be dissociated from the disintegration of the kingdom that Samsi-Addu built in the area of the upper Euphrates a generation earlier.[8] Beginning his rapid expansion from a base at Ekallatum, by the end of his life Samsi-Addu had taken control of a vast territory stretching from Tuttul in the west to Assyria and the Zagros foothills in the east. Among his conquests was Mari, which he controlled for roughly 17 years.

During the latter part of that period Samsi-Addu divided control of his empire by installing his younger son, Yasmah-Addu, as ruler of Mari and his older son, Ishme-Dagan, as ruler of Ekallatum, while the aged father ruled as "Great King" (LUGAL GAL) from his residence at Shubat-Enlil. But the kingdom that Samsi-Addu built could not long outlast the death of its creator. Zimri-Lim describes the aftermath of its collapse: "The whole land returned to its allotment and each went home to the throne of his father's house."[9] To Zimri-Lim, the period of Samsi-Addu's domination constituted a disruption of the proper political order, which was reconstituted when each king returned to his ancestral throne.

A letter written to Zimri-Lim some years after the collapse of Samsi-Addu's kingdom provides additional perspective on the event and its possible theological interpretation. Sumu-Lanasi, a local king, recalls the transitional period subsequent to Samsi-Addu's death. He writes:

> Speak to my lord: Thus Sumu-Lanasi, your servant: It is a known fact that when (we were) in the garden by the ruler of Carchemish, you, my lord, and I, on learning of his (*scil*. Samsi-Addu) death, our spirit was decided and we had a discussion. Now the god of your father caused you to occupy the throne of your father. As for me, I arrived at my father's house, but Yumras-El was installed in my city. Out of respect for you, I did not chase him from my throne. Now, the god [of my lord] Zimri-Lim is strong and he has set me on the throne of the house of my father. Just as previously my father followed

> the lead of your father Yahdun-Lim, I shall follow your lead. Another matter: Thanks to my letters, I have reconciled Takka of Tilla with my lord Zimri-Lim. I plan to send him to Bunu-Ishtar. I wrote to Huziri, but he does not want to make peace. His land revolted in my favor. My lord should rejoice! My borders – it was Yahdun-Lim who set them for my father, I have set them at Tehranum. As I am like my father, the house of my father holds its place. My district is a pastureland for your district. The men of Isqa, Qaya, Ilisum, and Yarihu are your servants. The shepherds are getting angry with the shepherds. You surely know that I entered an empty house. Do not count me among the wealthy in your service. I am your servant.[10]

Sumu-Lanasi reminisces about the time he and Zimri-Lim, sitting in a garden belonging to the prince of Carchemish, discussed their ambitions to take back the thrones that the recently deceased Samsi-Addu had taken from their fathers.[11] As Sumu-Lanasi tells the story, Zimri-Lim had the better luck. He succeeded in taking Mari shortly afterward, whereas Sumu-Lanasi did not immediately wrest his throne back from its occupant, Yumraṣ-El. Sumu-Lanasi attributes Zimri-Lim's success to the activity of Zimri-Lim's ancestral god.[12] Though left unnamed, it is most likely that the deity in question is Itur-Mer.[13] Sumu-Lanasi's statement is striking in relation to the prophecy that Nur-Sin sent to Zimri-Lim. In that letter, Adad of Aleppo claims responsibility for restoring Zimri-Lim to his ancestral throne. Did Zimri-Lim have Adad to thank for his kingship – or Itur-Mer?

Why might different gods be given credit for the same historical event? Consider Sumu-Lanasi's objective. As revealed later in the letter, the lesser king is seeking recognition of his borders and an exemption from excessive tribute.[14] The attribution of Zimri-Lim's success to his ancestral god is part of the letter's persuasive program. In fact, Sumu-Lanasi's entire rendition of the past is organized by this rhetorical purpose. The Carchemish gardens are evoked to elicit nostalgia for when the rulers were youthful intimates and had common dreams. Because of their common beginning, the king of Mari should be sensitive to the author's self-sacrifice. Out of respect for Zimri-Lim, Sumu-Lanasi did not expel Yumraṣ-El, though this meant postponing the achievement of his own ambition to regain his father's throne.

Zimri-Lim should feel indebted. Sumu-Lanasi tempers this suggestion by professing his loyalty to Zimri-Lim ("Just as previously my father followed your father Yahdun-Lim, I will follow you") and by flattering him. He achieves the latter by praising the strength of Zimri-Lim's god. When Sumu-Lanasi eventually ascended his ancestral throne, it was thanks to the power of Itur-Mer. Although the Carchemish gardens scene plays off a past camaraderie, the attribution of agency to Zimri-Lim's god situates Sumu-Lanasi as Mari's vassal. To attribute Zimri-Lim's kingship to any other god in this context would be an insult. That would not serve the needs of the letter. In this message sent by a vassal of Mari

to his sovereign, the rhetorically appropriate deity to invoke as responsible for Zimri-Lim's rise to power was Zimri-Lim's own god, Itur-Mer.

What, then, about Zimri-Lim's relationship to the god Adad of Aleppo? Though cultic worship of Adad is attested at Mari, the deity was not especially connected to either the city or its environs.[15] The god Itur-Mer was closely related to Mari, with one text even referring to him as the king of the city (*Itûr-Mer šar Mari*).[16] Additionally, a special relationship is attested between Mari and the god Dagan.[17] This can be deduced, for instance, from royal seal impressions. One of Zimri-Lim's seals reads:

> Zimri-Lim,
> appointee of Dagan,
> beloved of Enlil,
> who controls the banks of the Euphrates,
> king of Mari and the land of Hana,
> son of Yahdun-Lim.[18]

Through the official vehicle of a seal, Zimri-Lim connects his position as king of Mari and the land of Hana to his relationship with the god Dagan (and Enlil).[19] The prophetic letters excavated at Mari are consistent with the evidence from the seals. The only male deity to send prophetic messages to Zimri-Lim from the area under Mari's control is Dagan.[20] By contrast, prophetic messages coming from beyond these borders belong to other gods. The message originating at Andarig comes from the god Shamash, the letter sent from Babylon contains a prophecy of Marduk, and both extant prophetic letters from Yamhad quote the words of Adad.[21] Adad's message to Zimri-Lim pertains to the international relations between Mari and Yamhad.

This equation of a polity's god with its actions is made manifest in a letter that concerns Adad specifically. Yarim-Lim, king of Yamhad, writes to Yashub-Yahad, king of Der:

> Speak to Yashub-Yahad: Thus Yarim-Lim, your brother: May Shamash inquire into your case and mine and give us his verdict! Me, I act like a father and a brother, while you, you act like a jerk and an enemy. What recognition do I get for having saved the city of Babylon by means of the weapons of Adad and Yarim-Lim, and having given life to your city and to you yourself? If it weren't for Adad and Yarim-Lim, the city of Der would have been winnowed as if it were straw. For fifteen years we would not have seen it and you wouldn't have been able to act toward me as you have. Assuredly, Singamil, king of Diniktum, just like you, never repaid me but with enmity and troubles. I moored five hundred boats at Diniktum's quay. For twelve years I benefitted him and his land! Today, you, just like him, never repay me but

> with enmity and troubles. I swear to you by Adad, the god of my city, and by Sin, my personal god, that I will not cease until I annihilate you and your city. For certain, when spring arrives I shall come and install myself at your gate. I will make you see the mighty weapons of Adad and Yarim-Lim.[22]

The king of Yamhad is not pleased with his colleague, the king of Der, and threatens to destroy his city. Three times the author employs the pairing "Adad and Yarim-Lim" in his taunt. The battles of the one correlate with the battles of the other, just as Hammurabi of Babylon could refer to his conquests as achieving victory for Marduk.[23] Particularly noteworthy is that this pairing is used twice in reference to weapons. Yarim-Lim leaves no doubt that the weapons of Adad are nothing less than the weapons of Yamhad. The fact that this letter was discovered at Mari suggests that Yarim-Lim's boastful equation of Adad's weapons with the military force of Yamhad would have been familiar to Zimri-Lim and his circle.[24]

This adds a dimension of signification to the material weapons that were sent to Terqa early in Zimri-Lim's reign. Sumu-Ila informs the king that the weapons of Adad of Aleppo have arrived at the temple of Dagan and awaits further instruction:

> Speak to my lord: Thus Sumu-Ila, your servant: The weapons of Adad of Aleppo have arrived here. I am keeping them in the temple of Dagan, in Terqa, in order to do that which my lord will instruct me to do.[25]

Charpin and Ziegler have suggested that this delivery should be dated to the moment of Zimri-Lim's coronation in Terqa.[26] A royal record attests to the presence of ambassadors from Yamhad in Terqa at the time.[27] The involvement of representatives of Yamhad at Zimri-Lim's enthronement is consistent with the close relationship between the new king of Mari and Yarim-Lim, his more powerful neighbor and soon-to-be father-in-law, which is known from other sources. By sending Zimri-Lim Adad's weapons – the same weapons that he equates threateningly with his own military force in the letter to Yashub-Yahad – Yarim-Lim conveys the message that the throne of Mari rests on the support of Yamhad.

Just as Yarim-Lim sends something to Mari, so, too, does Zimri-Lim send something in exchange to Yamhad. The king of Mari named his second regnal year "The year Zimri-Lim dedicated his statue to Adad of Aleppo."[28] Placing a statue of oneself before a god establishes oneself as perpetually devoted to that deity, with the likeness standing in for the devotee who cannot be constantly present. It is noteworthy that whereas Yarim-Lim sent his god's weapons to be placed in front of Dagan, Zimri-Lim sent an ex-voto of himself to Adad of Aleppo. The exchange was not symmetrical.[29]

The arrival of Zimri-Lim's statue in Yamhad is attested in a letter by Warad-ili-shu, an envoy that the Mariote king sent on a diplomatic mission to the Aleppo court.[30] He writes to his lord:

> Speak to my lord: Thus Warad-ili-shu your servant: I entered Aleppo on the day of the *šuḫḫum*(-festival). It was the seventh of this month. It was on the seventh that my lord's sacrifice was made. The go-ahead was given on all points and the statue of my lord I had set up before Adad. Another matter: With regard to the placement of the statue, I repeated my lord's orders to Yarim-Lim so: "My lord said: 'Formerly, I grew up in the lap of Adad.' Now, therefore, the statue of my lord must be set up on the lap of Adad." That is what I told him.[31]

Zimri-Lim ties the dedication of this statue to an experience from his past. He claims to have grown up in the lap (*paḫallum*) of Adad. The specific placement of the statue is meant to commemorate this past relationship between the donor and the deity, thereby maintaining it into the present.

Zimri-Lim's claim to having been raised in the deity's lap is echoed by Adad himself. In another letter from Nur-Sin to Zimri-Lim, the king's representative in Yamhad reports prophecies of Adad of Aleppo, as well as of another manifestation of the same deity from Kallassu.[32] Adad of Aleppo declares, "Am I not Adad, lord of Aleppo, who raised you on my knee and restored you to your ancestral throne?"[33] Adad of Kallassu makes an almost identical statement. Speaking of Zimri-Lim in the third person, he says, "Am I not Adad, lord of Kallassu, who raised him in my lap and restored him to his ancestral throne?"[34] Both manifestations of Adad agree that Zimri-Lim grew up in the divine lap.[35]

Adad of Kallassu uses the same word (*paḫallum*) used by the Mariote king, whereas Adad of Aleppo designates the location of Zimri-Lim's upbringing by the word *suḫatum*. Though the philology of these words is difficult, it is clear that both terms designate roughly the same area of the body.[36] The image likely holds connotations of Adad's paternal care for Zimri-Lim. The prophecies present Adad as a paternal figure, and Zimri-Lim's conveyance of his statue and concern for its proper placement reiterate the point. This "lap motif" is a trope that both Mari and Yamhad employ in their exchange of messages with each other.

These messages further tie this trope to the event of Zimri-Lim's restoration. Both Adad of Aleppo and Adad of Kallassu invoke the lap motif in connection with their involvement in making Zimri-Lim king of Mari. Zimri-Lim regained his ancestral throne because the god cared for him as a son. Now, in the statement quoted by Warad-ili-shu, Zimri-Lim does not explicitly mention his newly obtained throne. He speaks only of his upbringing. But if the ex-voto was the counterpart to the weapons sent to him at his enthronement, then the gift could not be divorced from his ascension. By sending the statue, Zimri-Lim acknowledges

that he rules thanks to Adad. In this way, he affirms the narrative as told in the god's speech. His dedication to the deity is the product of the god having cared for him and having provided him with the weapons by which he was able to obtain his throne.

Nur-Sin's second letter is helpful because his first letter contains no similar reference to Zimri-Lim's upbringing.[37] The lacuna's location in the first letter is worth noting, however. Adad's account of Mariote dynastic history breaks off with the mention of Samsi-Addu. When the text resumes, the deity is in midsentence, exclaiming to Zimri-Lim: ". . . let me restore you! I restored you to the throne of your father's house, and the weapons with which I fought with Sea I handed to you." Did the god speak of raising Zimri-Lim in his lap before moving on to the topic of his restoration? Considering the likelihood that this prophecy was used as a basis for Adad's statements in Nur-Sin's second letter, and that both those statements precede the mention of restoration with a reference to Zimri-Lim's upbringing, it is conceivable that Nur-Sin's first letter also used the lap motif. If the letter did include this theme, it would have drawn on all three tropes under discussion – Zimri-Lim's upbringing in Adad's lap, his restoration to his ancestral throne, and the weapons of Adad – in quick succession.

Taken together, these messages exchanged between Mari and Yamhad – both verbal and material – attest to a diplomatic discourse involving a set of tropes. In all the statements and exchanges discussed so far, the figure of Adad takes center stage. Lurking behind the god's messages was the human ruler of Yamhad. A letter Zimri-Lim wrote to his father-in-law brings this to light by alluding to and playing off the themes of this diplomatic discourse, but without referring to the divine. It reads:

> Speak to Yarim-Lim: Thus Zimri-Lim, your son: I heard it said: "In Imar, the merchants have much grain. But Yarim-Lim opposes letting the grain come down to Mari." That is what I heard. What is this? Why does my father take pleasure in my weakness? Does this agree with the following declaration: "I am the one who set Zimri-Lim on his throne; I will take care of strengthening him and securing the foundations of his throne"? Yet at present you withhold grain from coming down to Mari! At the same time, Hammurabi wrote me in these terms: "If you are short on grain, write me. I will fill up 50,000 donkey-measures and convey them to Mari right away." But as for me, I rely only on you, and so replied to him in these terms: "Don't transport any grain to me. I have access to grain. It is by you that it is lacking." This is the response that I made to Hammurabi. But to myself I thought: "My father set me on my throne; he alone will strengthen me and secure the foundations of my throne." Now, ever since I ascended my throne many days ago, I have been to wars and battles, and have never had peace to bring in a full harvest in my country. If you are truly my father, take it upon yourself to strengthen me and secure the foundations of my throne. My father should pay attention to this letter.

> The grain merchants that are in Imar should let the boats go and alleviate the land. Another matter: Now, I had all the tin that was at my disposal conveyed to you. Once I get more tin, I'll have it conveyed to you. May letters of good news of my father come to me regularly.[38]

Zimri-Lim confronts his "father" over why the latter has been withholding deliveries of needed grain from arriving at Mari. The letter displays a masterful use of rhetoric.[39] The king of Mari frames his complaint in terms of a disjunction between Yarim-Lim's previous claims and his current behavior. He quotes back to his father-in-law a statement that the king of Yamhad had supposedly once made: "I am the one who set Zimri-Lim on his throne; I will take care of strengthening him and securing the foundations of his throne." The similarity between this declaration and the one made by Adad of Aleppo is striking.[40] Zimri-Lim appears to be returning the god of Aleppo's proclamation to the king of that city, but divested of its divine façade.

Likewise, the paternal imagery connected to the lap motif is here diverted to Zimri-Lim's father figure. Not only does the king of Mari refer to himself as "your son" in the address of the letter (a customary form for a lower-ranked king in conversation with his more powerful counterpart), but he also makes the proper behavior of a father thematic within the letter. Repeating Yarim-Lim's words once more, Zimri-Lim reminds the king of Yamhad: "If you are truly my father, take it upon yourself to strengthen me and secure the foundations of my throne." Zimri-Lim calls upon his father-in-law to make good on Adad's promises.

Whereas at other times Zimri-Lim could participate in the symbolic forms that structured the political relationship between Mari and Yamhad – for example, sending his statue to Adad of Aleppo's temple – the circumstances demanded discourse at a different register.[41] Just as Zimri-Lim's letter belongs to the realm of compulsion, persuasion, and reassurance that constitutes the reality of political jockeying between polities, so, too, does Nur-Sin's first letter with its prophetic statements about Adad's victory over the sea.

The absolute nature of Yamhad's claim of sovereignty over Mari can be detected in other parts of Adad's prophecy. In the final section of that prophecy, Adad instructs Zimri-Lim: "If you go off to war, never do so without consulting an oracle. When I become manifest in my oracle, go to war. If it does not happen, do not go out of the city gate."[42] One fundamental marker of sovereignty is the prerogative to determine when to go to war. Adad is demanding that Zimri-Lim not practice that prerogative, but rather hand it over to Aleppo. Yamhad, not Mari, gets to decide on Mari's friends and enemies. To allow another king to decide who one's friends and enemies are is tantamount to handing over one's authority to that king. Adad of Aleppo's demand to be consulted before Zimri-Lim goes to war must be understood in light of these political implications. For Zimri-Lim to acquiesce to the god is for him to accept subordination to Yamhad.

Similarly, Adad's instruction that Zimri-Lim judge the cases of those who have been wronged is not as high-minded as it may appear.[43] Making judgments is something that Zimri-Lim will do no matter what, for that is entailed in being a king. The importance of Adad's statement is not in what is being demanded, but in the very fact that it is being demanded. By presuming the right to command Zimri-Lim to pronounce judgments, Adad asserts that Yamhad holds ultimate sovereignty over Mari. Even if no particular decision differs from what Zimri-Lim would have decided on his own account, the very fact that his judgments have been subsumed within a larger judicial framework undercuts his independence as a king.[44] Like the requirement to consult Adad before going to war, the injunction to pronounce judgments (because it is an injunction) aims to undermine Mari's sovereignty and grant that prerogative to Yamhad.

Finally, the dynastic history of Mari in the first section of Adad's prophecy also conveys the message that Zimri-Lim depends upon Yamhad for his kingship. Adad speaks of three successive rulers: Yahdun-Lim, Samsi-Addu, and Zimri-Lim, the addressee of the letter.[45] The god claims responsibility for granting each control of Mari in turn. Durand has noted the uniqueness of such assertions for a deity of the period: nowhere else do we find a god with such universal pretension that he would bestow royalty beyond his realm.[46] The question is how to interpret this claim to jurisdiction beyond one's political borders. For Durand, it marks Adad as "an impartial god who bestows power independent of nationalist aims."[47] But does such an analysis attend fully to the rhetorical purpose of Adad's pronouncements and the political situation that lies behind them? Adad's claim to possess transnational jurisdiction does not entail that the god is politically impartial any more than his request for justice means that he is a disinterested moralist. Universality and justice hold powerful rhetorical force when employed for political purposes.

Adad takes responsibility not only for enthroning Yahdun-Lim, but also for dethroning him. The god says he took Mari away from Yahdun-Lim and gave it to Samsi-Addu because the former king "left me" (*yâtam īzibma*). The verb can convey the sense of disregarding, abandoning, and neglecting.[48] To what is Adad referring here? As Charpin has suggested, the god is likely alluding to a specific historical event: an initial alliance between Yamhad and Mari that came to an end when Yahdun-Lim entered an accord with Eshnunna.[49] Adad alludes to this past event as a way of warning Zimri-Lim to steer clear of any future peaceful relations with his eastern neighbor. Embedded in this dynastic history is the threat that if Zimri-Lim behaves as his father did, he, too, will lose his kingdom. The oil of Adad's splendor comes with conditions.

By now it should be clear that Adad's message – far from being a disinterested statement about the universal importance of justice – was motivated by Yamhad's ambitions regarding Mari.[50] The allusion to Adad's combat with the sea must be understood in this context. The story of ancient combat is invoked to support the

god's claims regarding universal domination – which he must make for his assertions about controlling history to be persuasive. Far from employing the myth to justify one's own kingship to one's people, here one king uses the combat motif to assert domination over another king.

Adad's letter does not indicate a monolithic meaning for the myth of the storm-god's battle with the sea. Its usage as attested at Mari is too specific to allow broad generalization. Rather, as the rich contextual evidence adduced here suggests, the political meaning of the mythic motif was not fixed, but rather flexible. It could be used for different purposes depending on the desires of those who used it. Adad's letter to Zimri-Lim does not show us what the Baal Cycle aimed to achieve at Ugarit half a millennium later. Instead, it indicates that the poets of Ugarit had some freedom in adapting the received mythic motif to their own purposes. The task ahead, then, is to identify more precisely what political message the Ugaritic poem develops through its specific manipulation of the combat motif.

Notes

1 Albright 1936: 18.
2 Durand 1993: 42. The link between the Mari letter and the Baal Cycle was further highlighted at the time of the letter's publication because Durand's article appeared in *MARI* 7 together with a re-edition of the Ugaritic texts related to Baal's victory over Yamm by Pierre Bordreuil and Dennis Pardee, with the pair of articles being given the dossier heading "The Combat of the Storm-god with the Sea."
3 The motif may, in fact, already be attested at Ebla; see Fronzaroli 1997, 2003; cf. Schwemer 2001: 116–19, 228.
4 Durand 1993: 52; cf., inter alia, Ballentine 2015: 112–13.
5 Mark S. Smith, for instance, connects the two texts in this way when he suggests, "Perhaps the Baal-Yamm conflict, and perhaps the whole of the Baal Cycle, functioned at Ugarit along the lines explicitly mentioned in the Mari text: the divine kingship of Baal mirrors and reinforces the human kingship of the royal patron of the Baal Cycle" (*UBC* 1, 109). Daniel Schwemer (2008: 25), after summarizing the find from Mari, claims that at "Ugarit, too, the myths about the kingship among the gods had great significance for the royal ideology of the ruling class." For Nicolas Wyatt (2005a: 698–9), Durand's publication of Adad's letter made it "clear that the whole narrative tradition of the *Chaoskampf* had an intimate relationship with rituals of kingship, new kings receiving from the gods a charter guaranteeing divine sanction in their military campaigns . . . every petty local king present[ed] himself to his people in the same guise. It really had become a cliché for legitimacy." Debra Soggins Ballentine (2015) takes a similar position on the role of the conflict motif in the legitimization of human kingship.
6 A.1968 = FM 7.38. First published in Durand 1993.
7 Nur-Sin is known from several other letters, some of which will be discussed later. By contrast, Abiya does not show up in any other documents from Mari known to me.
8 On Samsi-Addu's kingdom, see Charpin and Durand 1997 and Ziegler 2002. For the political history of Mari during the period of Samsi-Addu's dominance, see Charpin and Ziegler 2003: 75–168.
9 ARM 28.148:5–7 // TH 72.15 = LAPO 16.247. For *i-ru-ub* in the sense of "went home," see *CAD* E, 268, s.v. *erēbu 2a*.
10 A.4182 = FM 6.18. For the English translation, see Sasson 2007: 455–6, n. 9. See also, Kupper 2002 and Charpin 1998: 94.

11 Sumu-Lanasi's use of the term "father" is not necessarily literal here. Recent research suggests that though Zimri-Lim would call himself "son of Yahdun-Lim" once on the throne of Mari, he was more likely either Yahdun-Lim's grandson or nephew (Charpin and Ziegler 2003: 175).
12 Cf. A.2126; Charpin 1998: 94–5.
13 On Itur-Mer's relationship to Mari, see Lambert 1985 and Fleming 1993; cf. Durand 1997, 2008: 189–94.
14 On the letter's historical context, see Kupper 2002: 198–200.
15 Adad is attested in cultic lists as a recipient of sacrifices at Mari, but his position is subordinate to several other deities, including Itur-Mer and Dagan. See Dossin 1950; Lambert 1985; and Durand 2002: 7–14.
16 ARM 10.63: 16.
17 On Dagan during the Old Babylonian Period at Mari and its environs, see Feliu 2003: 62–142 and Fleming 2004: 217–18, 222.
18 The impression has been attested fourteen times. For this and similar royal seals belonging to Zimri-Lim and his servants, see *RIME* 4:625–27, 632–35. Noteworthy as an outlier is a seal belonging to one Dabi'um, son of Yawi-Ila, which reads *zi-im-ri-li-im ša-ki-in* ^{d}iškur *da-bi-um* [n]a(?).g[a]da dumu *ia-wi*-dingir ìr.zu (Zimri-Lim, appointee of Adad. Dabi'um, the herdsman, son of Yawi-Ila, your servant). It is unknown why this herdsman referred to his master as the *šakin* of Adad rather than of Dagan, as is attested on the seals of Zimri-Lim's other servants.
19 The role played by Enlil here is ambiguous. Some scholars have argued that in this period Dagan had been subsumed under Enlil, so the distinction between the two gods on Zimri-Lim's seal is actually a local manifestation of the same god being worshipped in two separate forms (Lambert 1978: 132, 1985: 538). Considering the role played by Anu and Enlil in the Hammurabi stele, however, one might consider the invocation of Enlil on Zimri-Lim's seal as referring to the general source of kingship, whereas Dagan corresponds to its particularized national form at Mari.
20 In addition to those of Dagan, prophecies originating from the territory of Mari include messages from the goddesses Annunitum, Hishamitum, Diritum, Belet-ekallim, and perhaps Ninhursag. The relevant data are synthesized in Charpin 1992: 27–9; cf. the charts in Sasson 1994. Besides Dagan, there is some evidence for prophetic activity connected to the male god Nergal in the territory of Mari, but it is of a domestic rather than a political nature. Irra-Gamil, the *muhhum* of Nergal, is said to have entered into a trance and predicted the death of Zimri-Lim's daughter. See ARMT 26.222 (LAPO 18.1220); for the identification of Irra-Gamil as the *muhhum* of Nergal, see *ARMT* XXVI/1, p. 348; cf. Charpin 2001: 25. Note that in his English edition of this text, Heimpel (2003: 263) chooses to bracket the relevant lines as untranslatable while calling Durand's restoration "ingenious."
21 See ARM 26.194 (cf. ARM 26.414) for Andarig; ARM 26.371 for Babylon; A.1968 and A.1121+A.2731 for Yamhad.
22 A.1314 (LAPO 16.251); cf. Sasson 1985.
23 LH xlviii; RIME 4.3.6.7:6–7 (*COS* 2.131:351).
24 How this letter arrived in Mari is the subject of speculation. In his initial publication, Dossin suggested that the letter had been intercepted on its way from Aleppo to Der (Dossin 1956: 64), in which case the message was not intended for Mariote eyes. Alternatively, Charpin and Durand (1985: 308, n. 77) have proposed that the letter is in fact a copy of the missive sent to Yashub-Yahad, basing this claim on the idea that kings would customarily send "carbons" to their allies when conveying declarations of war on an enemy. If this is the case, the letter can be said to contain an additional dimension. Because the letter would be read by Yarim-Lim's allies in addition to its named addressee, it would contain a secondary message "with a sideward glance" to those readers (Bakhtin 1984: 195–6). Accordingly, addressing an enemy provides an opportunity for Yarim-Lim to send a message to his allies without having to address them

directly. They, too, are to learn about the weapons of Adad and Yarim-Lim. Finally, Jack Sasson (1985: 250–1) has offered a third suggestion to explain the discovery of this letter at Mari. He proposes that the text is not in fact an actual letter from the king of Yamhad, but rather a literary exercise produced in Mari. Even if the letter were a literary fiction produced at Mari, the relevant point in this discussion would still stand. The central contention is not that Yarim-Lim associated Adad's weapons with his own military force, but that Adad's weapons *could be understood in this way at Mari*. From this perspective nothing changes if the letter is a literary fiction. If anything, the fact that scribes at Mari would depict Yarim-Lim in this way confirms that as far as they were concerned, "the weapons of Adad" referred to Yamhad's army.

25 A.1858 = FM 7.5. Sumu-Ila can be connected to two other letters that identify him as active at the beginning of Zimri-Lim's reign; see Charpin 1990: 267–8.

26 Charpin and Ziegler 2003: 179.

27 ARM 23.261. On the diplomatic role of the *mâr šiprim* (messenger-ambassador), see Lafont 2001: 294–7.

28 Charpin and Ziegler 2003: 258.

29 Cf. Lafont 2001: 306–15.

30 For this functionary and the dossier of texts relating to his two missions to Yamhad, see Durand 2002: 29–58.

31 M.7161:1–12 = FM 7.17.

32 A.1121+A.2731 = FM 7.39. See Lafont 1984 and Durand 2002: 135–40; cf. Sasson 1994: 314–16. For the English translation, see Nissinen 2003: 17–21. Though numerous other letters sent by Nur-Sin survive, for the sake of clarity I will refer to A.1968 as Nur-Sin's "first letter" and A.1121+A.2731 as his "second letter." As Sasson has noted, A.1968 contains the original prophecy because it ends with Nur-Sin enclosing samples of the *apilum*'s hair and fringes as authenticating items. The second letter depends on the first.

33 A.1121+A.2731:49–51.

34 A.1121+A.2731:14–17.

35 Both Zimri-Lim and Adad use forms of the verb *rabû*, the former in the G-stem "to grow up" and the latter in the D-stem "to cause to grow up, to raise."

36 See Durand 2002: 136–7 and Nissinen 2003: 21, n. 9. I have translated *suḫatum* as "knee" earlier to make clear that the two gods use different terms. *CAD* P, 20 translates *paḫallum* as "thigh."

37 Using the second letter in this context complicates matters because of its likely date. In it, Adad of Kallassu demands that Zimri-Lim deliver to him the land of Alahtum. (For the dossier of texts relating to Alahtum, see Durand 2002: 59–172.) Another letter allows this demand to be situated during the reign of Hammurabi of Yamhad, the son of Yarim-Lim – hence late in Zimri-Lim's reign (M.5772 = FM 7.40; see Durand 2002: 97), substantially separating Nur-Sin's second letter from the context of Zimri-Lim's enthronement at the peak of Yarim-Lim's power. This raises the question of A.1968's date. Because of its similarities with Nur-Sin's second letter, Durand has included it in the Alahtum dossier. The logic runs roughly as follows: M.5772 provides a date for A.1121+A.2731, which in turn provides a date for A.1968. The second inference, however, is not solid. Nothing internal to A.1968 requires that it be dated so late in Zimri-Lim's reign. The prophecies quoted in Nur-Sin's second letter depend on the one in A.1968, but there is no indication of how much time separates the two letters. As an original prophecy related to Adad's involvement in putting Zimri-Lim on the throne, a date closer to the time of that enthronement stands to reason. The connection between the mention of Adad's weapons and their physical arrival in Terqa supports such a hypothesis. Furthermore, the strong voice lying behind Adad's message fits more properly with a Yamhad ruled by Yarim-Lim, rather than by his weaker son, Hammurabi (cf. Durand 2002: 94). In fact, Durand has accordingly suggested that behind the demands of Adad of Kallassu was actually the stronger-willed Gashera, Yarim-Lim's

widow and competitor with Hammurabi (Durand 2002: 97, cf. 9). Though one could argue that Gashera is behind Adad of Aleppo in A.1968 as well, I find this difficult to accept. The message would then have originated almost as a farce – sent by a weakened Yamhad to Mari at the height of its power. More likely, in my opinion, is that A. 1968 belongs to the context of Zimri-Lim's enthronement, when Yarim-Lim was strong. Later, Gashera attempts to take advantage of the tradition of Adad prophecies as part of her bid to regain control of Alahtum. In using these tropes she would not be alone; we have already seen how Zimri-Lim does the same. (The fact that both letters are sent by Nur-Sin does not necessitate that they were produced close to each other. Though I have been unable to locate evidence that would place Nur-Sin at the Aleppo court in the early period of Zimri-Lim's reign, such a tenure would not be irregular, as confirmed by Warad-ili-shu's activities in Yamhad during the reigns of both Yarim-Lim and Hammurabi; see Durand 2002: 29.) Finally, Zimri-Lim's use of tropes in his letter to Yarim-Lim regarding grain from Imar (see later) bears witness to the Mariote king's familiarity with the claims in Adad's letter at a point early in his reign.

38 A.1153 = ARM 28.16. Cf. Dossin 1973 and Sasson 1998: 462–4.

39 A letter written to the king of Mari by his adviser, Sammetar, attests to the special attention Zimri-Lim paid to the persuasive elements in his correspondence with Yamhad. Regarding precisely this issue of grain deliveries, Sammetar proposes several ways his lord could present the situation to Yamhad. After considering blaming the poor harvest on flooding or bad weather, he finally recommends connecting the lack of grain to constant hostilities. This is the argument that Zimri-Lim uses in his letter to Yarim-Lim (A.1101 [LAPO 16.230]; cf. Sasson 1998: 462–3). Sasson has suggested that the two letters might not be related, because the Hammurabi mentioned in Zimri-Lim's letter might refer to Hammurabi of Kurda (who only ascended the throne in the middle of ZL 6', whereas Sammetar had already died earlier that year). Even if this were the case, it would not undermine the value of the letter as a window into Zimri-Lim's concern over rhetoric. Nevertheless, I find that the arguments linking the two letters outweigh those separating them. The latter rest mainly on the identification of Hammurabi as Hammurabi of Kurda. Sasson bases this identification on the mention of delivery by donkey rather than by boat. This is not convincing because the term represented by ANŠE-HÁ probably refers to a donkey-measure (*homer*), not to actual donkeys. And besides, transportation upstream from Babylon to Mari would likely have been by donkey despite both cities being situated on the Euphrates. Kupper (1998: 19) argues a position similar to Sasson's, but from a different perspective. He notes that the terminology used in Hammurabi's message belongs to the language of northern Syria (cf. Durand 1992: 122–3). From this Kupper deduces that the message is unlikely to have been sent from Babylon. This is not conclusive proof that the Hammurabi in question is the king of Kurda, however. Nothing requires the message to have been quoted verbatim, and besides there is no guarantee that Zimri-Lim ever received such an offer of grain in the first place. He could simply be fabricating the offer as a way to pressure Yarim-Lim into delivering. As a product of Zimri-Lim's rhetoric, the passage written by Mariote scribes could simply have employed local idiom, regardless of what the real external situation was. The specific links to Samettar's letter, not to mention the superior force of invoking Hammurabi of Babyon as a competitor to Yarim-Lim's authority, go against identifying the Hammurabi in this letter as Hammurabi of Kurda.

40 Cf. Charpin 1991b: 158, n. 39.

41 Zimri-Lim could be described as provoking a transition from the Adad-centered Yamhad–Mari discourse, which takes an indirect stance, to a discourse that takes a direct stance. As Robin Shoaps (2009: 93) explains, "Indirect stances invoke an authority – of 'shared cultural values' – that lies beyond a speaker and an addressee (as opposed to direct stances, for which the speaker is primarily held accountable)."

42 A.1968:12′-16′.

43 Cf. Durand 2002: 2–3; Sanders 2009: 53–4; and Sasson 2006: 39.

44 Though not directly connected to pronouncing judgments, a letter from Yarim-Lim to Zimri-Lim (TH72.8+TH.72.39:20–38 = LAPO 16.249) reveals how the king of Yamhad asserted his authority by giving the king of Mari advice (Birot 1990).
45 The letter makes no mention of Sumu-Yamam, who ruled briefly between Yahdun-Lim and Samsi-Addu (Charpin and Ziegler 2003: 47–9). It is unlikely that Yasmah-Addu would have been mentioned in the break, as even when he ruled in Mari his father was recognized as king (Charpin and Ziegler 2003: 80–2).
46 Durand 2002: 2.
47 Durand 2002: 3.
48 *CAD* E, 415–26.
49 Charpin 1991a: 38; cf. Charpin and Ziegler 2003: 39–50. For a reference to Yahdun-Lim having removed his Yamhadean wife from the palace in Mari – a possible affront to Yamhad – see Samsi-Addu's comments to his son, Yasmah-Addu (A.4471 = LAPO 18.1011). See also the texts attesting to gift exchange between Eshnunna and Mari (ARM 22.138 [FM 2.92] and ARM 22.123 [FM 2.103]; cf. Charpin 1994: 188–9).
50 For a critique of the tendency to flatten out regional and chronological differences in ancient Near Eastern theory and practice of justice, see Sanders 2012: 14–15 with references.

Taylor & Francis
Taylor & Francis Group
http://taylorandfrancis.com

4 The politics of time

On January 13, 1902, Friedrich Delitzsch delivered his first "Babel und Bibel" lecture before the Deutsche-Orient Gesellschaft and the kaiser of the German Reich. As part of Delitzsch's general argument that much in the Hebrew Bible depended on Babylonian culture, the Assyriologist provided his audience with a lengthy paraphrase of *Enuma elish*. "At the very beginning of all things," Delitzsch informed the kaiser, "a dark, chaotic, primeval water, called Tiâmat, existed in a state of agitation and tumult," but the god Marduk later clove it "clean asunder like a fish."[1]

Delitzsch proceeded to explain the relevance of the ancient Babylonian poem to his theme: "As Marduk was the tutelary deity of the city of Babylon, we can readily believe that this narrative in particular became very widely diffused in Canaan. Indeed, the Old Testament poets and prophets even went so far as to transfer Marduk's heroic act directly to Yahwè." Delitzsch was merely popularizing an opinion that many scholars of his day were already taking for granted – that the origin of Israelite ideas about creation was to be found in Babylonia.[2] This groundbreaking thesis had been presented seven years earlier, when, in *Schöpfung und Chaos in Urzeit und Endzeit*, Hermann Gunkel argued that the Babylonian narrative of Marduk's defeat of Tiamat had influenced the Bible's conception of creation as well as its depiction of the end of days.[3]

I began the previous chapter with Albright's 1936 article announcing a parallel between Tiamat and Yamm in the newly discovered Ras Shamra texts. Many scholars since have emphasized the similarities between Marduk's exploits and those of Baal. The Babylonian and Ugaritic poems both center on a god who is victorious in a battle against another deity associated with the sea, in both the victorious deity is proclaimed a king, and both recount how a royal abode is built for the victorious god.[4] These similarities have led to claims that, like *Enuma elish*, the Baal Cycle is a cosmogony. "The great cosmogonic myths of Mesopotamia and Canaan," writes Frank Moore Cross,

> were associated with the central rites of the cult and as such are of much greater importance than the theogonic myths for our understanding of

> ancient, mythopoeic religion. The cosmogonies recount the warfare between the olden god or gods and the young god, or gods, a conflict out of which emerges victory for the young god and the establishment of kingship among the gods, and an orderly, cosmic government. Kingship and its hierarchical institutions are thus fixed in the orders of creation, and human kingship, patterned after the cosmic government, gains religious sanction.[5]

The Baal Cycle is Cross's example of a Canaanite cosmogony. But is the conflict between the gods in the Baal Cycle meant to depict a temporal transition from primordial chaos to political order? And, if not, what political message does that conflict convey?

Despite Cross's assertion that the Baal Cycle is the Canaanite equivalent of the Babylonian cosmogony *Enuma elish*, the two poems are not actually as alike as they appear at first blush. Though both clearly employ the conflict motif, the Baal Cycle diverges significantly from the Babylonian story in many details. This is particularly true regarding each poem's temporal horizon. Unlike *Enuma elish*, the Baal Cycle does not describe the creation of the earth, the sky, the sea, or humans. Though scholars have begun to recognize these differences, they have been slower in drawing the political consequences. Contextual data from Ras Shamra can help us unpack the poetic details and thus reveal that the political message of the Ugaritic poem differs substantially from that of the Babylonian poem.[6] Not only is the Baal Cycle not a cosmogony, but its depiction of divine combat for noncosmogonic purposes serves to offer a vision of earthly politics strikingly at odds with the legitimating ideology defined earlier.

Enuma elish tells the story of Marduk's defeat of Tiamat, the primordial waters, and his subsequent organization of the universe. Thanks to this victory, Marduk became king of the gods. Marduk fashioned and rules the world that humans know. After defeating Tiamat, Marduk dismembered her body and used it to form the heavens and the earth. But it is not only the physical universe that Marduk has established. Political life as well, with its rules and hierarchies, is presented as a product of Marduk's cosmogonic act. The symbol of this political order is the city of Babylon, which, like the physical order, comes into being as part of the initial act of world organization. Everything that displays order is rooted in this cosmogonic moment – from the fixed positions of the stars to the rule of man over man – and if the world displays order, it is because Marduk continues to rule.

Mark S. Smith has been at the forefront of distinguishing Baal's exploits from Marduk's. A passage from the preface to the first volume of Smith's commentary on the Baal Cycle warrants quoting at length:

> Baal has often been compared with the powerful figures of Marduk in *Enuma elish* and Yahweh in the Hebrew Bible, but the differences among these three deities are as significant as their similarities. Indeed, the Baal Cycle does not

> render the West Semitic storm-god in the exalted terms reserved for Marduk or Yahweh. Nor does the Baal Cycle construe Baal as a champion who vanquishes his enemies for all time. Rather, Baal acquires a limited kingship and not primarily through his own exploits, but mostly thanks to the aid of other deities. His foes loom large not only in a single combat, but in repeated engagements, and without definitive outcomes.[7]

Throughout his commentary – and the companion second volume coauthored with Wayne Pitard – Smith makes a point of identifying moments when the Babylonian and Ugaritic poems diverge.[8] For example, unlike Marduk who has the backing of the other gods before confronting Tiamat, Baal enters into combat against Yamm without the support of the divine assembly. Similarly, Baal only achieves the status of king after he defeats Yamm, whereas Marduk is proclaimed king before the climactic battle – as a precondition for going to war. Furthermore, whereas the gods of the Babylonian poem spontaneously decide to build Esagila for Marduk, Baal must initiate protracted negotiations to get his own palace. These and other narrative details mark significant differences in how the two poems depict the kingship of their respective protagonists.

As an entry point into thinking through the political significance of these differences, I focus on one particular divergence between the two poems: the characterization of their heroes' antagonists. Whereas Marduk's principal adversary Tiamat belongs to an older generation of deities, Baal's opponents (Yamm and Mot) are his contemporaries. They belong to the generation younger than El. This is crucial because it signifies that the Baal Cycle does not portray the overturning of an older generation of gods by a new, younger generation. Such diachronic "regime change" functions mythopoetically – not only in *Enuma elish* but also in poems like Hesiod's *Theogony* and (somewhat more complicatedly) the Hurro-Hittite Kumarbi Cycle – to render the cosmogonic transition from primordial time to the present eon. Baal's intragenerational battles, by contrast, do not signify the passage from one epoch to another.[9]

In addition to the narrative similarities already mentioned, deity lists discovered at Ugarit have been offered as evidence for the "translatability" of Ugaritic Yamm and Mesopotamian Tiamat.[10] Some lists written in alphabetic cuneiform appear to correspond in their entries to a list of gods written logo-syllabically.[11] Line 29 of the logo-syllabic list records the deity ^{d}A.AB.BA, corresponding to the entry *ym* in the alphabetic list.[12] Because scholars have generally taken the logo-syllabic signs A.AB.BA to designate the Akkadian word *tâmtum* (sea), they have treated the logo-syllabic list as an Akkadian translation of Ugaritic deity names.[13] The implication drawn from these data is that Baal's first antagonist in the Baal Cycle and Marduk's enemy in *Enuma elish* were recognized by those living in ancient Ugarit as somehow interchangeable. Closer scrutiny reveals this conclusion to be untenable.[14]

The logo-syllabic list provides access to what Ugaritic scribes would have considered the logo-syllabic equivalents of alphabetically spelled Ugaritic divine names. The terms "logo-syllabic" and "alphabetic" designate types of script, as distinct from language. The tablets present us only with script. Identifying any particular language as represented by that script requires interpretation. Scholars have tended to treat the logo-syllabic script as representing Akkadian and the alphabetic script as representing Ugaritic. But the language situation at Ugarit was not so neatly divided. Maintaining a rigorous distinction between script and language is essential for properly evaluating the evidence.

In his initial publication of the logo-syllabic list, Jean Nougayrol normalized the signs ^{d}A.AB.BA as ^{d}*tâmtum*, implying that he read them as designating the Akkadian word for sea.[15] In his comment on the line, Nougayrol admitted having hesitated over how to read the sign sequence. He claims to have opted for the reading *tâmtum* based on the fact that *ym* appears in parallel with *thm* in Ugaritic.[16] That parallel occurs only once, in the poetic text known as "The Birth of the Gracious Gods." The relevant line reads: "[E]l[?] [ ] to the shore of *ym*,/He went to the shore of *thm*" ([*'i*]*l*[ ]*y*[ ].*'i gp.ym./wyṣġd.gp.thm*).[17] The poetic text can really only speak to the relationship between the two Ugaritic words *ym* and *thm*, not to any correspondence between Ugaritic *ym* and Akkadian *tâmtum*. Therefore, the poetic text does not provide a solid basis for determining the reading of ^{d}A.AB.BA in the god list.

How might the signs ^{d}A.AB.BA have been read at Ugarit? When found in Akkadian texts from the Mesopotamian heartland, the signs A.AB.BA do often denote the word *tâmtum*.[18] Though the antagonist's name in *Enuma elish* is generally written *ti*-GEME$_2$, the text known as "The Myth of the Plow" attests a character designated by the signs ^{d}A.AB.BA (with divine determinative).[19] The likeliest reading in this context is *tâmtum*.

But does this ^{d}A.AB.BA correspond to ^{d}A.AB.BA at Ugarit? In the Mesopotamian myth, the divinized and personified sea is a female character belonging to an early generation of gods. This is at odds with how Yamm is characterized in Ugaritic narrative – where the deity is male and belongs to a younger generation. If ^{d}A.AB.BA was read ^{d}*tâmtum* at Ugarit, this divine designation must have held significantly different connotations at Ugarit than it did in Mesopotamia. Though possible, other evidence suggests ^{d}A.AB.BA was not read as ^{d}*tâmtum* at Ugarit.

The other standard Akkadian reading of A.AB.BA is *ajabba*.[20] This is most likely a loan from Sumerian a.ab.ba (lit. "water(s) of the sea").[21] Without supplementary hints, it is often difficult, if not impossible, to determine when a scribe intended this combination of three signs to be read as *ajabba*.[22] To avoid such ambiguity, Akkadian scribes would sometimes spell this word in a more markedly phonetic form, such as *a-a-ab-ba* or *a-ia-ba*. Yet it is clear that the unmarked spelling could also indicate the word *ajabba*. This is evident, for instance, from the phrase *a-ab-ba ta-ma-ti* DAGAL*ti* found toward the beginning of the *Epic of*

Gilgamesh.[23] The first term cannot be a logogram for *tâmtum* because if it were it would produce a redundancy with the following word. Rather, *ajabba* (ocean) is here glossed by the phrase *tâmati rapašti* (the wide sea).

In fact, in regions proximate to Ugarit, *ajabba* appears to have been the more common reading of A.AB.BA. Pinhas Artzi has argued that the word *ajabba* was used in the West to designate the Mediterranean Sea (as opposed to *tâmtum*, which meant "sea" more generally). Making use of evidence from the Amarna archive, as well as the "General's Letter" found at Ugarit, Artzi demonstrates how the markedly phonetic spelling *a-ia-ba* and the unmarked A.AB.BA were used interchangeably.[24] For example, the phrase "in the heart of the sea" is written *i-na* [*lìb*]-*bi a-ia-ba* in EA 114:19 and *i-na lìb-bi* A.AB.BA in EA 288:33. Likewise, the phrase "at the shore of the sea" is written *i-na a-ḫi a-ia-ba* in EA 74:20, whereas the scribe of the "General's Letter" writes the same phrase *i-na a-ḫi* A.AB.BA (RS 20.33:18, 3′).[25] The parallel phonetic spellings militate against reading A.AB.BA as *tâmtum* in these situations. Rather, when using Akkadian, it appears the inhabitants of this region regularly referred to their nearby sea as *ajabba* – a term they often spelled A.AB.BA. While discussing this evidence, Artzi draws attention to the deity list from Ugarit that is the focus of our inquiry. He objects to Nougayrol's normalization of ^{d}A.AB.BA as ^{d}*tâmtum*, arguing instead that the reading in RS 20.024:29 should be ^{d}*ajabba*.[26]

None of the attestations of *ajabba* in the Amarna archive or in the "General's Letter" identify the sea as a divinity. Before accepting Artzi's conclusion, we should consider whether the word *ajabba* could be used to refer to a god. An Akkadian letter recently discovered at Ugarit is striking for its particularly expanded benediction formula.[27] The sender begins:

> Thus speaks Dagan-ba'li: Say to my sweet brother Urtenu, whom I love like the fragrant smell of cedar: May the gods of the land of Ugarit, the gods of the king your lord, Ea the mighty lord, *ajabba* the vast sea (*a-ab-ba ta-ma-tu*$_4$ DAGAL-*tu*$_4$), and the gods of the land of Ashtata protect your soul and may they render you venerable before the king your lord so that the words of your mouth be respected![28]

Using the literary formula *ajabba tâmatu rapaštu* found in the *Epic of Gilgamesh* (mentioned earlier), Dagan-ba'li calls on *ajabba* – together with Ea, the gods of Ugarit, the gods of the king of Ugarit, and the gods of Ashtata – to bless his correspondent Urtenu.[29] We possess four other letters from Dagan-ba'li, from which we can deduce that he was a business associate of Urtenu's based somewhere near Emar.[30] Comparison of these letters reveals that Dagan-ba'li was rather free in how he composed benediction formulae. Sometimes he simply invokes the gods in the abstract,[31] whereas other times he adds specificity with the phrases "the gods of Ugarit,"[32] "the gods of the king your lord,"[33] "Ea the mighty lord,"[34]

and references to the deities of Emar and Ashtata.[35] The letter quoted earlier is the only one to include all of these specific elements. It is also the only one to mention an individual deity besides Ea – and that deity is *ajabba*.

We may never know what inspired Dagan-ba'li to provide this letter with such a baroque opening. Nor can we tell why he chose to single out *ajabba* of all deities. Nevertheless, in doing so he has provided valuable evidence concerning how that god was perceived. Dagan-ba'li treats *ajabba* as an active deity capable of bestowing benevolence, for otherwise he would not have included him in a benediction formula.[36] It stands to reason that his correspondent in Ugarit would have thought the same. So not only does this letter attest to a deity *ajabba* being recognized at Ugarit, but it also indicates that that deity was the kind of god we might expect to find listed in texts related to cultic activity. Conversely, the fact that Dagan-ba'li seems to have had a penchant for literary flourish calls into doubt whether this erudite display has implications that can be applied to the Ugaritic cult more generally. These considerations recommend ^{d}*ajabba* as a more likely reading than ^{d}*tâmtum* for ^{d}A.AB.BA in RS 20.024, but the evidence is not conclusive. In fact, a third possibility appears the most likely.

^{d}A.AB.BA may have stood for the West Semitic name of the sea-god itself – that is, the signs could simply have been read to denote the name Yamm. So far this discussion has sought an Akkadian word to correlate to ^{d}A.AB.BA in the logo-syllabic list. This has been in keeping with the traditional designation of the list as a "translation" of the alphabetically written Ugaritic lists. But is this designation accurate? Might not the logo-syllabic entry simply refer to a word in the local language? The alphabetically written proper name *'bdym* could also be written in logo-syllabic script as ÌR-A.AB.BA.[37] Here A.AB.BA is to be read *yammi*. Might the entry in RS 20.024 be read similarly?

In a recent series of articles, Carole Roche has worked to elaborate criteria for identifying the underlying language of logo-syllabically written administrative texts at Ugarit.[38] Her findings call into question the standard view that these texts were meant to reflect Akkadian. "Even if a small number of the logo-syllabic administrative texts were written and intended to be 'read' in Akkadian," Roche concludes, "the majority (perhaps even a large majority) appear to have been 'read' in the local language, Ugaritic."[39] Roche's work raises the question of whether her conclusion may hold just as well for the logo-syllabically written deity list RS 20.024. After all, this text, too, appears to belong to the "administration" of Ugarit, intimately connected as it is to civic sacrificial practice.[40] As an administrative text, RS 20.024 stands apart from other logo-syllabic deity lists discovered at Ugarit that belong to the standard Babylonian school curriculum.[41] Produced for use in the local cult, it would stand to reason that the list was meant to indicate the names of local deities. This conforms to John Huehnergard's judgment that at Ugarit logographically written divine names were "often, perhaps

normally, intended to be read with the local names rather than with their usual Mesopotamian values."[42]

The use of logo-syllabic script need not compel linkage to the religious ideas of Mesopotamia. If RS 20.024 is not understood as recording Mesopotamian divinities, but rather as employing logo-syllabic script to register the local gods of Ugarit, the document's value for attesting correspondences between Ugaritic and Mesopotamian deities falls away. The text belonged to the realm of practice, not theory. And the practice to which it belonged was – in terms of divine hierarchy and personnel – particular to Ugarit. Despite its use of a script tradition imported from Mesopotamia, RS 20.024 possesses a specifically Ugaritic cultural horizon. The list, therefore, provides no ground for equating Yamm's significance at Ugarit with the religious connotations of *tâmtum* in Mesopotamia. Rather, it suggests a strongly independent tradition at Ugarit that calls into question any straightforward parallel between the conflict of Baal and Yamm in the Baal Cycle and the battle between Marduk and Tiamat in *Enuma elish*.

Once we realize that Yamm at Ugarit is not to be conflated with Tiamat in Babylonia, the position of the Baal Cycle as cosmogony begins to falter. Because Yamm is independent of Tiamat, the Ugaritic deity need not represent a chaotic past that has since been overcome. As Jonas Greenfield pointed out over twenty years ago, the oft-repeated characterization of Yamm as a force of chaos is not based on the Ugaritic sources; rather, it is an import of the depiction of Tiamat in *Enuma elish* and of *tᵉhôm* as Yahweh's foe in the Hebrew Bible.[43]

Along similar lines, Wayne Pitard has recently concluded that Yamm "is not a primeval deity like Tiamat, nor does he represent chaos or the periphery in the story."[44] This is not to say that Ugaritic literature could not associate Yamm with violence and destruction. In the Kirta Epic, for instance, Yamm or a figure named *ǵlm ym*, the "Lad of Yamm," is held responsible for the death of Kirta's sixth son (*KTU* 1.14 I 20). But the poetic parallelism to Rashap in that passage makes clear that the reference is to a deity belonging to the current era, albeit a destructive one. The responsibility for killing one of Kirta's human sons implies the same thing. The decisive point is that Yamm belongs to the order of currently active deities, not some primordial past. Combat with him is therefore not cosmogonic, as it is with Tiamat.

Ritual and administrative texts unearthed at Ugarit provide evidence corroborating this distinction between Yamm and Tiamat. In his discussion of cosmogonies, Frank Cross proposed two criteria for identifying whether a deity was one of the "olden gods" and therefore an appropriate cosmogonic enemy: first, an olden god was not likely to receive cultic sacrifices; second, such a deity was unlikely to appear as a theophoric element in personal names.[45] This test works for the antagonist of *Enuma elish*: Tiamat is never found in cultic lists from Mesopotamia, nor was she taken as a namesake.[46] Despite Cross's assertion that the Baal

Cycle, too, depicts a defeat of olden gods by a young god of the cult, his test does not work when applied to Yamm.

The very fact that Yamm appears in the cultic lists at Ugarit suggests that he differs significantly from the Mesopotamian deity with whom he is often compared. Whereas Tiamat meets Cross's criterion of not appearing in cultic lists, Yamm clearly does not. The sea-god of Ugarit is listed in the company of El, Baal, and Athirat – all active gods of the cult.[47] Like these deities, he is the recipient of sacrificial offerings. Evidence from sites near Ugarit support the conclusion that Yamm was recognized as an active, cultic deity in Bronze Age Syria.[48] Likewise, the Ugaritic onomasticon attests to Yamm as a theophoric element in personal names.

Administrative lists and deeds bear witness to names such as *ym'il* (Yamm Is God), *ilym* (A God Is Yamm), *mlkym* (A King Is Yamm), and *'bdym* (Servant of Yamm).[49] These are all constructions that find parallels in names based on unambiguously cultic deities, such as *'ilb'l* (A God Is Baal) and *'bdršp* (Servant of Rashap).[50] Again, this is a phenomenon that finds parallels among Ugarit's neighbors.[51] People at Ugarit clearly revered Yamm and considered him a worthy namesake for their children.

Unlike Tiamat, therefore, Yamm fails both tests of being an olden god. Not a deity of the distant past, Yamm belongs to the coterie of gods that make up the present world. Struggles with him are contemporary struggles. Though the poets of Ugarit employed the combat trope that is also found in *Enuma elish*, they gave their hero a different kind of enemy than did the poets of Babylon.

What are the political implications of this difference? *Enuma elish* uses the combat motif to narrate a fundamental transition from a time when things were not yet firmly organized to an era when a victorious deity, having achieved uncontested sovereignty, maintains the world in its current order. That newly emerged order consists of not only what we might call the order of nature, but also the political order. *Enuma elish* recognizes no distinction between *nomos* and *phusis*.[52] The political structures of our world are fixed in the organization of the universe. Because the world envisioned in *Enuma elish* is intrinsically hierarchical, so, too, is its political organization. The relationship between ruler and ruled belongs to the very fabric of the universe. Human kingship is legitimate because it stems from Marduk's kingship. Akkadian expresses the link between cosmogony and political legitimacy in the word *kīnum*. A legitimate king is a *šarrum kīnum* – literally, his kingship is solid or fixed in place.[53]

The act of giving fixity to the world is precisely what Marduk accomplished by defeating Tiamat. Prior to that victory, aspects of the world that one might take as indications of political order – such as the royal imagery associated with Apsu and Qingu – actually lack legitimacy.[54] Marduk's rule entirely reconfigures political relationships by providing them with a grounding that they did not previously possess. His victory signifies a fundamental transition from a world lacking legitimate order (primordial time) to one characterized by it (the current era).

By contrast, the Baal Cycle does not narrate the overcoming of a primordial past through the establishment of a fixed order. The choice of an active god like Yamm rather than a primordial deity like Tiamat to play the role of Baal's adversary signals that the Baal Cycle puts the combat motif to a different purpose than *Enuma elish* does. The battle with Yamm occurs within the current era; it does not constitute the transition from one era to another.

Furthermore, Baal's victory does not introduce rule into a world. It has been claimed that Baal's rise constitutes "the establishment of kingship among the gods, and an orderly, cosmic government."[55] But this is not so. The entire action of the poem occurs under the kingship of El, and El names Yamm a king before his battle with Baal.[56] Baal's struggles occur in a world already defined by political structures, and his achievement of kingship does not transform those structures in any fundamental way. Baal operates within the order of his world; he does not create a new order. One way of expressing this idea is to note that El rules both before and after Baal achieves kingship. Whatever constitutes the foundation of kingship undergoes no fundamental change as a result of Baal's victory over Yamm – which is not the case for Marduk's defeat of Tiamat.

The entire narrative of the Baal Cycle – populated as it is by "active" deities – takes place in the world as we know it, not a primordial past. The picture the poem paints of our present world can be compared to the current era as imagined in *Enuma elish*. The Babylonian poem allocates conflict and uncertainty about rightful rule to a past era, whereas acceptance of Marduk's rule and obedience to his will characterize the world as it is today. By contrast, the Baal Cycle's conflicts take place within the world of today. The poem portrays tensions between the gods as characteristic of our present world, rather than relegating such tensions to a past era that has been overcome. The gods are still fighting, and that has ramifications for present-day human life.

Baal's procurement of a palace can be read as a political founding. The Ugaritic poem never identifies this divine abode with an earthly royal seat, as does its Babylonian counterpart. Unlike Babylon, the city of Ugarit is never mentioned. The Ugaritic poem might best be understood as expressing a perspective on foundings in general – not the founding of any specific polity. According to the Ugaritic account, polities originate violently *in time* and not at some initial moment of cosmogonic origins.

Furthermore, the rise of new polities occurs at the expense of previously ruling powers. With this in mind, consider the details of this Ugaritic narrative about political foundings. Baal achieves his position as king by battling Yamm – both a god who is his suzerain and a king whom El himself had crowned (*KTU* 1.1 III 12–25). In fact, Baal fights Yamm against El's explicit command (*KTU* 1.2 I 36–38). Yet Baal is still victorious and, what is more, he eventually manages to persuade El to solidify his kingship with the grant of a palace. The Ugaritic poem presents a strikingly different picture of political origins than does *Enuma elish*. It

depicts the successful emergence of a new king through the violent defeat of his lord and, in so doing, challenges claims that link political legitimacy to cosmic order by offering an alternative perspective on the nature of political change – that is, on history.

***

In a journal he kept while stationed as a diplomat in Lisbon during the Second World War, Mircea Eliade first recorded the idea for what would become *The Myth of the Eternal Return*. On January 29, 1944, he noted, "I'd like to be able to write someday a book about this horrible thing: the terror of history, the terror of man vis-à-vis man."[57] Two months later, at the end of a long journal entry in which a depressed Eliade laments the recent Russian advance across the Dniester, he amplifies the theme. "Until a little while ago," he writes, "any personal tragedy, any ethnic catastrophe had its justification in a cosmology or soteriology of some sort: cosmic rhythms, reabsorption into water, ekpyrosis or purification by fire, historical cycles, 'our sins,' etc. Now, history simply terrorizes, because the tragedies provoked by it no longer find justification and absolution."[58] In this wartime journal, Eliade announces his desire "to validate scientifically the metaphysical meaning of archaic life"[59] – an aspiration tied to his belief that the archaic myth of the eternal return "must be revived if life is to have any meaning, if it is to be worth the living."[60]

The project that Eliade refers to in his journal under the Romanian title *Teroarea Istoriei* (The Terror of History) was published in French as *Le Mythe de l'éternel retour: archétypes et répétition* in 1949 and appeared in English five years later as number forty-six in the prestigious Bollingen Series. The book paved the way for Eliade's appointment as chair of the History of Religions in the Divinity School at the University of Chicago and his subsequent career as perhaps the most influential professor of religion in the twentieth century.

In *The Myth of the Eternal Return*, Eliade claimed that what he called "archaic societies" possess a special ontology by which they attach reality only to those acts and objects that participate in a transmundane archetype dating back to the moment of origins – an ontology that Eliade contrasts with the historical ontology of modern man, "who *is* insofar as he *makes himself, within history*."[61] Through ritual and sacred poetry, Eliade argues, archaic societies aimed "to annul past time, to abolish history by a continuous return *in illo tempore*, by the repetition of the cosmogonic act."[62] *Enuma elish* is arguably Eliade's primary example of such an archaic ontology. In Eliade's hands, Babylonian cosmogony emerges as exemplary of an archaic refusal of history that testifies to traditional man's "thirst for the real and his terror of 'losing' himself by letting himself be overwhelmed by the meaninglessness of profane existence."[63]

Eliade's distinction between archaic and modern ontologies tells us more about the Romanian's own politics than it does about the myths he purports to

be elucidating.[64] The representation of time in *Enuma elish* cannot be severed from the politics of its production and use. If the poem conveys the message that the meaningful structures of this world are rooted in a fundamental moment of origins, it does not do so because that is how "archaic man" thought, but because that is what the authors of the poem wanted its audience to think.

To the extent that Eliade's work reduces myth to an expression of mind, rather than recognizing it as a message developed and deployed in specific situations, it stands in the way of the proper interpretation of ancient texts. Jonathan Z. Smith expresses this point well. Whereas for Eliade the cosmogonic features of *Enuma elish* and the *akītu* festival are representative of an archaic approach to history, for Smith they belong more specifically to "a self-serving ideology [of great, urban, imperial cultures] which ought not to be generalized into the universal pattern of religious experience and expression."[65]

It is not necessary to embrace Eliade's problematic dichotomy between ancient and modern man to appreciate how his two models of historical understanding can be useful heuristically. J. Z. Smith retains the conceptual value of distinguishing between these different views without accepting a chronological development from archaic to modern. According to Smith, the centripetal-closed-locative view (corresponding to what Eliade attributes to archaic man) and the centrifugal-open-utopian view (associated with modern man) "remain coeval existential possibilities which may be appropriated whenever and wherever they correspond to man's experience of his world." One or the other may be more dominant in any particular culture, at any particular time, but both remain basically available at any time and in any place. Smith elaborates:

> Those myths and rituals which belong to a locative map of the cosmos labor to overcome all incongruity by assuming the interconnectedness of all things, the adequacy of symbolization (usually expressed as a belief in the correspondence between macro- and microcosm) and the power and possibility of repetition. They allow for moments of ritualized disjunction, but these are part of a highly structured scenario (initiation, New Year) in which the disjunctive (identified with the liminal or chaotic) will be overcome through recreation.[66]

Smith juxtaposes this locative map of the cosmos, with its congruity and static perfection, to traditions that adopt another map of the cosmos, one that foregrounds incongruity. This alternative kind of map calls into question the viability of symbolism, myth, ritual, repetition, and transcendence – suggesting that they are incapable of overcoming disjunction. "These traditions," Smith writes, "are more closely akin to the joke in that they neither deny nor flee from disjunction, but allow the incongruous elements to stand." The Baal Cycle presents a vision more similar to this alternative map of the cosmos, one that seeks "to play between the incongruities and to provide an occasion for thought."[67]

Rather than placing fundamental political events in a primordial past, the Baal Cycle situates them as coming about squarely within the plane of history.[68] Admittedly, these events take place among the gods. As such, the poem could be read as establishing an archetype for human action – but it would be an archetype of a peculiar kind. The Baal Cycle reflects the contingency of historical becoming that Eliade claims archetypes are meant to overcome. On this principle, any human rule that repeats Baal's rule would gain no foundation that it did not already possess. Baal succeeds to the extent that he conducts his political affairs successfully.

A human king who takes Baal's kingship as an archetype would gain no more support for his own kingship than he could muster through successfully ordering his affairs. One might call such an archetype historically solipsistic. Such an attitude toward the political events of history is at odds with both Eliade's archaic ontology and the eschatological vision of the Hebrew prophets and their descendants. It brings to mind Spinoza's characterization of God's providence in the *Theological-Political Treatise*. The election of the Hebrew people consisted in their conducting their own political affairs successfully and thereby maintaining their state. "In other respects," Spinoza writes, "they were on the same footing as the rest of the nations, and God favored all equally."[69]

The Myth of the Eternal Return grew from Eliade's despair about the events he experienced as a Romanian during and shortly after the Second World War, as well as his sense that modern historical consciousness was incapable of coping with them. Eliade felt one must assuage the "terror of history" by refusing history as such. Through this refusal, he wrote, "tens of millions of men were able, for century after century, to endure great historical pressures without despairing, without committing suicide or falling into that spiritual aridity that always brings with it a relativistic or nihilistic view of history."[70] Eliade expressed skepticism about whether humanity could endure and make sense of the events of history without either primordial archetypes or a providential god. Eliade evokes his personal experience in a moving passage toward the end of his book:

> We should wish to know . . . how it would be possible to tolerate, and to justify, the sufferings and annihilation of so many peoples who suffer and are annihilated for the simple reason that their geographical situation sets them in the pathway of history; that they are neighbors of empires in a state of permanent expansion . . . [H]ow can man tolerate the catastrophes and horrors of history . . . if beyond them he can glimpse no sign, no transhistorical meaning[?][71]

Like Eliade's southeastern Europe, Ugarit was situated "in the pathway of history." The city was constantly jostled by the imperial ambitions of Egypt and Hatti, as well as Mitanni and then Assyria. In the context of these experiences the poet of the Baal Cycle produced a work that refused the ontology of cosmogonic

politics. He responded to the terrors of his own history with a poem that embraces the contingencies of history in its representation of politics. Success on the plane of history requires managing one's political affairs successfully.

Notes

1 Delitzsch 2007: 47, 49. On Delitzsch's ideological commitments, including his nationalism and antisemitism, see Arnold and Weisberg 2002, with references. For a discussion of Delitzsch's lecture in its larger cultural context, see Marchand 2009: 212–51.
2 The principal biblical passages that have come under discussion in this regard are Genesis 1; Isaiah 17:12–14, 27:1, 51:9–10; Psalms 104:5ff., 46:3–4, 74:12ff., 89:10ff.; Job 26:12, 9:13; Daniel 7; and Revelation 12, 13, 17.
3 Gunkel 2006; cf. Gunkel 2009: 42–3.
4 For a discussion of the primary claims and references to the relevant literature, see *UBC* 1, xxv-xxvi, 103–5, 296, 309, and 314–15.
5 Cross 1998: 78; cf. *UBC* 1, 75–87, 100–2. On the Baal Cycle as a "*Chaoskampf*," see, inter alia, Wyatt 1996: 134–58; Bordreuil and Pardee 1993: 69; and Ortlund 2010: 109–42. Scurlock and Beal 2013 provide a general reevaluation of Gunkel's *Chaoskampf* hypothesis, including essays on the Baal Cycle in particular. Ballentine (2015: 39) reiterates Cross's political conclusions.
6 This chapter argues against the equation of the Baal Cycle's political message with that of *Enuma elish*, as the latter is often characterized in the literature. It is beyond this chapter's scope to evaluate the accuracy of this characterization of the Babylonian poem itself. Doing justice to the complexities of *Enuma elish*, and how they operated in mediating political meanings for the poem's audiences over a long history, would require an entire study in itself. On the complexity of the Babylonian poem, see, inter alia, Michalowski 1990; Seri 2006, 2014; and Lambert 2013.
7 *UBC* 1, xxv-xxvi. Noga Ayali-Darshan (2015) has further demonstrated the differences between the Babylonian and Ugaritic poems.
8 *UBC* 1, 103–5, 296, 309, 314–16; *UBC* 2, 16–18, 45, 53–4, 57, 59–60.
9 As Dennis Pardee (2003: 137) has remarked, the Ugaritic deity lists attest to numerous gods that would have been considered Baal's seniors, yet Baal never attacks any of them.
10 On *Listenwissenschaft* and its relation to the "translatability of deities" in the ancient Near East, see Assmann 1997: 44–7; M. S. Smith 2008: 45–8; and Tugendhaft 2016.
11 *Ug*. V, 18. The logo-syllabic text is RS 20.024, whereas the corresponding alphabetic texts are the deity lists RS 1.017 (*KTU* 1.47) and RS 24.264^{+} (*KTU* 1.118) and the sacrificial list RS 24.643:1–9 (*KTU* 1.148). See Pardee 2000: 1.291–319 and 2002: 12–16. Recognizing that the order of deities in a logo-syllabically written god list corresponded to the order of an alphabetically written list, Jean Nougayrol published the lists in parallel columns in *Ugaritica* 5.
12 RS 1.017:30, RS 24.264^{+}:29, and RS 24.643:9, respectively. Since the publication of *Ugaritica* 5, another logo-syllabic list of deities has been discovered (RS 92.2004 [*RSO* XIV 323–26]; cf. Pardee 2002: 17–19). This list shows extensive variation, in terms of both entries and their order, from RS 20.024. Though ^{d}A.AB.BA is attested in line 30 of this new text, the relevant portion of the corresponding alphabetic sacrificial list (RS 24.643:23–44) is missing.
13 In the editio princeps, Nougayrol refers to the tablet as a "'traduction' en babylonien d'un texte ougaritique" (*Ug*. V, p. 42, n. 7); it is not clear what Nougayrol meant to imply by putting the word "traduction" in quotes. Similarly, John F. Healey (1985) and Gregorio del Olmo Lete (1999: 72) have called RS 20.024 an Akkadian text. Likewise, M. S. Smith (2008: 45) has stated, "These lists are evidently the same one in different languages. *KTU/CAT* 1.47 and 1.118 (cf. 1.148.1–9) are Ugaritic versions of essentially

the same list, corresponding to the Sumero-Akkadian version, RS 20.024." By contrast, in his French edition of the ritual texts, Pardee (2000: 294, n. 14) notes, "Nous tenons à éviter le terme 'accadien' pour décrire la version syllabique . . . aussi bien que le terme 'babylonien,' parce que les éléments de cette version sont parfois donnés sous forme uniquement sumérienne, parfois avec des mots accadiens, parfois avec des divinités hourro-anatoliennes, et avec des rares transcriptions de mots ouest-sémitiques. Nous préférons employer donc le terme 'syllabique'. . . qui ne désigne que la forme de l'écriture." Building on the implications of the logo-syllabic list being a translation, André Caquot and Maurice Sznycer (1980: 15) claimed that the list provides "equivalents between the deities of Ugarit and the gods of Mesopotamia." For a similar use of the list, specifically with respect to the character of Yamm, see *UBC* 1, 110.

14 The following discussion is based on Tugendhaft 2010; see there for further details.

15 Healey (1985: 118) and del Olmo Lete (1999: 73) follow Nougayrol, printing ^{d}*tâmtum* in their versions of the list. Pardee (2000: 292, 2002: 15) more cautiously prints ^{d}A.AB.BA.

16 Nougayrol, *Ug*. V, 58.

17 RS 2.002:30 (*KTU* 1.23); cf. M. S. Smith 2006: 73–4.

18 *CAD* T 150–58, s.v. *tâmtu* passim.

19 CT 46 43:4, 14, 17, 18, and 22; Jacobsen 1984.

20 *CAD* A/1 221, s.v. *ajabba*; *AHw* 1, 23, s.v. *a(j)jabba*; cf. Horowitz 1998: 303–4.

21 *PSD* A/2, 133–42, s.v. *ab-ba B*; cf. Horowitz 1998: 302.

22 Limiting reference to the data from Ugarit, such ambiguity surrounds the signs A.AB.BA in a fragment of a hymn to Shamash (RS 20.231:9′) and an incantation (RS 25.422:18′), not to mention the entry in RS 20.024 that is our focus. See Arnaud 2007: 108 and 60, respectively.

23 SB *Gilgamesh* I 40 (George 2003: 1.540–1). The line belongs to the hymn that opened the Old Babylonian epic, as attested in the Philadelphia and Yale tablets (George 2003: 1.160, 446–7). The phrase survives on a fragment of *Gilgamesh* discovered at Ugarit (RS 94.2066:8; Arnaud 2007: 131). It also appears, somewhat as a literary cliché, in incantations (e.g., *Šurpu* V-VI 190, VIII 84 and *Maqlu* VI 100).

24 Artzi 1993: 27; cf. Albright and Moran 1950: 167.

25 Nougayrol leaves the signs A.AB.BA unnormalized in his edition of RS 20.33 (*Ug*. V, 71–2), whereas Anson Rainey (1971) normalizes them as *ajabba*. Shlomo Izre'el and Itamar Singer (1990: 37) opt for the normalization *ti'āmti*, arguing, "There is no support for a possible syllabic reading of this sign sequence in Amurru." See Dietrich 2001 for further discussion of the alternatives.

26 Artzi 1993: 27; cf. Malamat 1989: 109 and Durand 1993: 58, n. 81.

27 For the divine benediction in letters from Ugarit, see Hawley 2003: 510–668.

28 RS 92.2006 (*RSO* XIV 261–62).

29 In his edition of RS 92.2006, Arnaud treats the phrase *a-ab-ba ta-ma-tu*$_4$ DAGAL-*tu*$_4$ as two distinct entries in the list, construing the second noun as a plural. As a result, he translates the phrase as: "que l'Océan, les vastes mers et les dieux du pays d'Ashtata" (*RSO* XIV 261). Far more likely is that *ta-ma-tu*$_4$ DAGAL-*tu*$_4$ is singular, in apposition with *a-ab-ba*; cf. George 2003: 2.783.

30 For the other letters and a discussion of the economic network to which they belong, see *RSO* VII, nos. 30–36; cf. Beckman 2007.

31 RS 34.173:4; cf. RS 34.134:25.

32 RS [Varia 26]:6, RS 34.134:4, RS 34.141:4, and RS 92.2006:5.

33 RS 34.141:5–6 and RS 92.2006:5.

34 RS [Varia 26]:7, RS 34.134:5, and RS 92.2006:6.

35 Emar's gods are invoked in RS [Varia 26]:8, RS 34.134:6, and RS 92.2006:7.

36 In this context, it is worth noting the appearance of ^{d}*Ia-a-mi* as a recipient of cultic sacrifice in a ritual text from Emar (373:92; Arnaud 1986: 353).

37 For the PN spelled alphabetically, see RS Varia [18]:7 (*KTU* 4.7), RS 11.858:18, 47 (*KTU* 4.103), RS 15.128:10 (*KTU* 3.3); cf. RS 18.028:3 (*KTU* 4.341). The logo-syllabic

spelling is attested in RS 16.257^{+}:7′′, 16′′ (*PRU* III 199). Cf. Gröndahl 1967: 144; Huehnergard 1989: 411; and Pardee 2000: 310.

38 Roche 2008, 2010. See also Malbran-Labat 1996, 1999 and Huehnergard 1989: 67–70.

39 Roche 2010: 119.

40 Pardee 2002: 11. Note also Daniel Arnaud's heading "textes administratifs religieux et profanes" to categorize texts nos. 22–28 of *RSO* XIV. Michael Heltzer (1982: 138–9) concluded that there was no cultic organization independent of the state bureaucracy at Ugarit, a thesis corroborated by the distribution of texts and archives as noted by Wilfred van Soldt (2000: 244). The administrative role of the deity list is apparent not only from how the list parallels the prescriptive sacrificial ritual RS 24.643:1–9, but also from the series of "check marks" in the right margin of the text. These marks indicate that the tablet was used in the process of managing the cult (Pardee 2002: 12–13). Drawing a parallel with the DIŠ sign used at the head of entries in the Mesopotamian list traditions, Hawley (2008: 66, n. 74) argues instead that the check marks may have functioned to introduce individual lexical entries. Hawley does not account for the fact that the check marks are placed to the right of each entry (rather than initiating each line at the left) and appear to be doubled. I find Pardee's hypothesis that the double check marks result from two rounds of sacrificial accounting better suited to the evidence.

41 Hawley (2008: 66) has suggested that the alphabetic deity lists that correspond to RS 20.024 may have been school texts and cites van Soldt and Ignacio Marquéz Rowe as support for what is otherwise a minority opinion. van Soldt's own statements do not bear out this hypothesis. Though van Soldt (2000: 234, 237) certainly considers religious and literary texts in logo-syllabic script to have formed part of the school curriculum, the point of the particular passage that Hawley cites is quite different. Speaking of the cultic texts discovered in the Rap'anu archive, van Soldt writes, "There is at least one text which was probably meant to be used in practice, the so-called Ugaritic pantheon (RS 20.24, Ug. 5, no. 18), for which there are parallels in Ugaritic" (2000: 243, n. 145). Far from corroborating Hawley's contention that the alphabetic deity lists are school texts, van Soldt suggests they are texts used in practice to contend that RS 20.024, despite being written logo-syllabically, was also intended for cultic use. Marquez Rowe (2005) wonders whether the deity lists could have served as scribal exercises, suggesting that the check marks attested on some of these tablets "might be interpreted as a common school practice," on which see the previous note.

42 Huehnergard 1989: 69.

43 Greenfield 1987: 557.

44 Pitard 2013.

45 Cross 1998: 78. For a discussion of the different designations for "olden gods" in the languages of the ancient Near East, see Laroche 1974.

46 The Chicago Assyrian Dictionary records a few examples of *tâmtu* (sea) in PNs (*CAD* T 158). The examples come from documents of the Ur III period and are unlikely to be theophoric elements relating specifically to Tiamat as known from *Enuma elish*.

47 *KTU* 1.46:6. See also *KTU* 1.39:13, *KTU* 1.148:9 and 41, and *KTU* 1.162:11. An earlier scholarly position that *ym* in the alphabetic deity lists refers to the word for "day" rather than "sea" is no longer tenable because of the parallels between *ym* in alphabetic deity lists and the syllabic entry ^{d}A.AB.BA in RS 20.024.

48 For attestations of Yamm in the cult at Emar, see Arnaud 1986: 360; cf. Fleming 2000: 187, n. 200 and Pentiuc 2001: 86. If Paolo Matthiae (1992) is correct in his identification of the winged figure in Old Syrian glyptic as the god Yamm (but see *UBC* 2, 255, n. 60), this corpus of seals also supplies evidence of Yamm worship.

49 *ym'il*: *KTU* 4.75 V 14; *'ilym*: *KTU* 4.116:13; *mlkym*: *KTU* 4.126:19; *'bdym*: *KTU* 4.7:7, *KTU* 4.103:18 and 47, *KTU* 3.3:10, *KTU* 4.341:3 (restored). Gröndahl 1967: 144; cf. *Ug*. V 58.

50 *'ilb'l*: *KTU* 4.141:4; *KTU* 4.261:21 (restored), *KTU* 4.609:3, *KTU* 4.381:22, *KTU* 4.340:6; *'bdršp*: *KTU* 4.258:5; *'bd.ršp*: *KTU* 4.635:35.

51 For attestations of the deity Yamm in the onomasticon from Mari, see *ARM* VI/1 267; cf. Huffmon 1965: 210–11 and Durand 1993: 57–8. For the Amarna letters, see Layton 1990: 63–6 and Hess 1993: 80–1. For Yamm in the Egyptian onomasticon, see Ranke 1935: 56 no. 4, 100 no. 15, and 415 no. 6; Schneider 1992: 267–8, 291.
52 On whether cuneiform scholars recognized a distinction parallel to the Greek *nomos* and *phusis*, see Rochberg 2014 and 2016.
53 *CAD* K 389–93, s.v. *kīnu*.
54 Sonik 2008.
55 Cross 1998: 78. The quotation comes from Cross's generic definition of a "cosmogony" but clearly applies, in his opinion, to the Baal Cycle because for him the Ugaritic poem "bears all the traits of the cosmogony" (80).
56 For El as king, see *KTU* 1.3 V 35–36 and parallels; cf. *KTU* 1.4 IV 38. See also Rahmouni 2008: 40–2. For Yamm's kingship, see *KTU* 1.1 III; cf. the personal name *mlkym* (Yamm Is King) attested in *KTU* 4.126:19.
57 Eliade 2010: 104.
58 Eliade 2010: 107.
59 Eliade 2010: 104.
60 Eliade 2010: 192.
61 Eliade 2005: xxiii (italics in the original).
62 Eliade 2005: 81.
63 Eliade 2005: 92. Study of the cuneiform tablets from Ras Shamra was in its infancy when Eliade wrote *The Myth of the Eternal Return*. Though Eliade alludes to the finds from ancient Ugarit in connection with *Enuma elish* (2005: 56) and suggests that they, too, attest to a cosmogonic desire to regenerate time, he does not enter into any detail. In his later work, *A History of Religious Ideas* (completed in 1975), Eliade does devote considerable space to the Baal Cycle. His treatment, based as it is on the specialist scholarship available to him, tends to treat Baal's defeat of Yamm as a cosmogonic victory over chaos. See Eliade 1978: 149–61; cf. J. Z. Smith 2010.
64 For critical evaluation of Eliade's thesis, see, inter alia, J. Z. Smith 1978: 88–103; Doniger 1998: 138–9; McCutcheon 2000; Allen 2002: 211–67; Meslin 2007; and Ginzburg 2010.
65 J. Z. Smith 1978: 293.
66 J. Z. Smith 1978: 308–9.
67 J. Z. Smith 1978: 309.
68 Despite claims that the Baal Cycle served as accompaniment at an Ugaritic New Year's festival along the lines of the Babylonian *akītu* (Kapelrud 1963: 67; cf. Cross 1998: 39), there is no evidence for such an event (Pardee 2003: 134). See also Petersen 1998 and Pardee's (2001b) review. On the *akītu* festival, see Pongratz-Leisten 1994.
69 Spinoza 2007: 46.
70 Eliade 2005: 152.
71 Eliade 2005: 151.

5 Unsettling sovereignty

Though both the Baal Cycle and *Enuma elish* present their heroes battling the sea, the meaning of that motif in the respective poems is radically different. Whereas Marduk's battle culminates in a restructuring of the universe that gives it its hierarchical structure, Baal's victory has no cosmogonic implications. Unlike Tiamat, the Ugaritic sea-god Yamm is not a primordial adversary, and his defeat does not usher in a new epoch. As a result, conflict takes on a different meaning in the Ugaritic poem – it is a constituent element of political life, not a means by which the political overcomes the primordial. This noncosmogonic employment of the topos of divine battle against the sea, I now want to argue, is consistent with the poem's representation of political rank as unstable and ambiguous.

In Chapter 2, I discussed how the relationships among the Baal Cycle's divine protagonists parallel earthly political relationships. Perhaps the most interesting of these is the fundamentally hierarchical relationship between vassal and suzerain. As Jonas Greenfield pointed out, the supreme god El states at one point that Baal is Yamm's vassal (*KTU* 1.2 I 36–37). Mark S. Smith has taken this to reflect "Ugarit's limited political situation lying between the great powers of the ancient Near East."[1] This is consonant with the fact that Baal was the patron god of Ugarit and Ugarit went through periods of vassalage to both Egypt and Hatti. Yet, as I have claimed, the Baal Cycle offers not just a *reflection of* terrestrial realities but critical *reflection on* the foundational claims of Late Bronze Age political institutions. In part it does so by calling into question the hierarchical principle that justifies those institutions.

Focusing primarily on the well-preserved "envoy scene" from the poem's second tablet, in which El's declaration appears, this chapter will consider the implications of the Ugaritic poem's particular depiction of suzerainty and vassalage (Figure 5.1; see the appendix for a translation of the entire episode). By presenting political positions that presuppose the idea of hierarchy – without actually affirming the principle that these positions depend on – the Baal Cycle ultimately undermines the traditional basis of sovereignty.

Very little remains of the tablet that scholars since Virolleaud have generally assigned as the head of the cycle.[2] The third (but first sufficiently legible) column

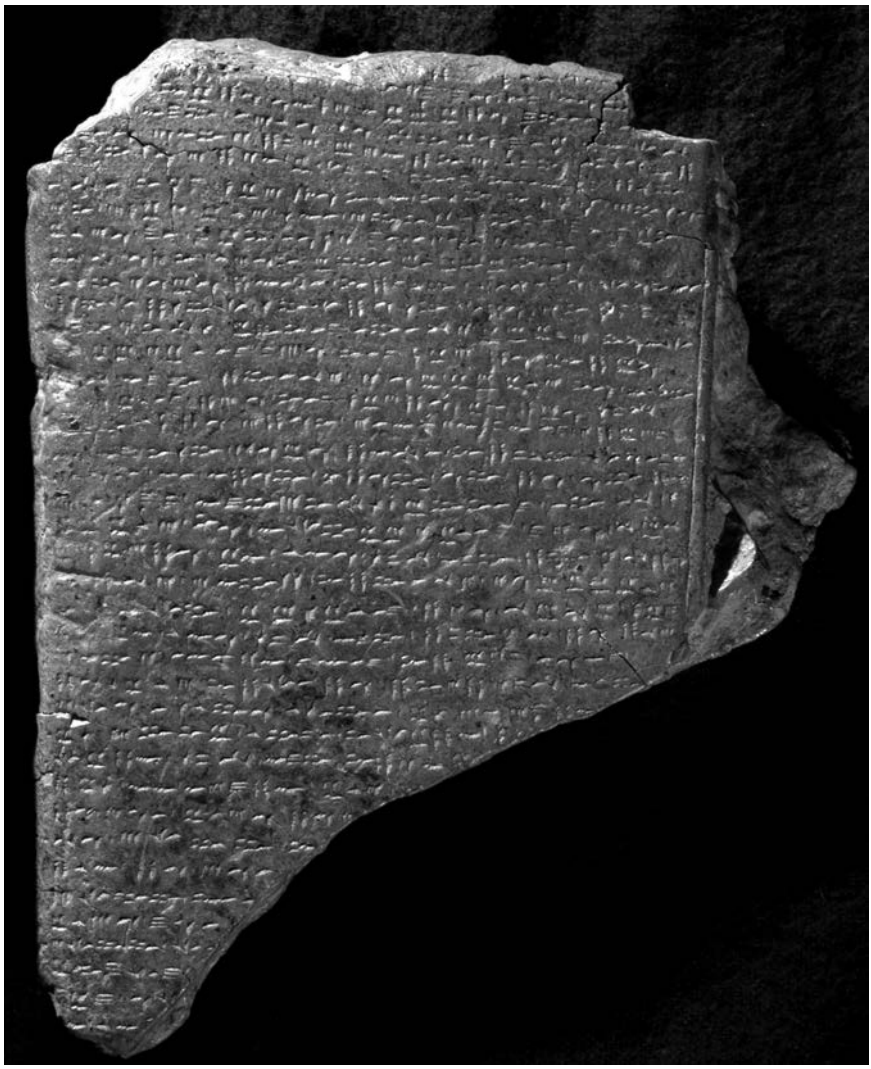


Figure 5.1 Second tablet of the Baal Cycle (RS 3.367 recto)
Source: Photo courtesy of Projet PhoTEO, Mission de Ras Shamra.

of this six-column tablet retains traces of a feast scene. During the feast, El appears to pronounce Yamm as a king and refers to the sea-god as his beloved (*mdd . ’i*[*l*]) (*KTU* 1.1 IV 13–25). Though the passage is very fragmentary, the general sense that in it El enthrones Yamm gains support from later material in which the father of the gods instructs Kothar-wa-Hasis to construct a palace for Yamm. This plot element may begin in the fourth column of tablet one (i.e., in the column

immediately following the feast), where we find El sending for the craftsman-god and ordering him to build a house. Unfortunately, the tablet is broken where the recipient of the house would have been named (*KTU* 1.1 III 1–30). However, in the following tablet remnants of what appears to be related material recurs. The father of gods declares (*KTU* 1.2 III 7–8): "Kothar-wa-H[asis], depart,/Build the house of Yamm/[Ere]ct the palace of Ruler [Nahar]." Here Yamm is explicitly named the recipient of the royal abode that El instructs Kothar to build.

El, it appears, is responsible for establishing Yamm in his kingship. This conforms to a standard practice in the Late Bronze Age: higher-ranked kings commonly granted kingdoms to their subordinates. In Hittite vassal treaties, the sovereign bestowed kingdoms on subject kings, even when the subject king's royal house long predated the subjugation to Hatti.[3] The recipient king then became the vassal of his more powerful benefactor. The evidence extractable from the surviving fragments of tablet one establishes the expectation that in tablet two Yamm's status will be that of a vassal king beholden to his sovereign, the kingmaker El. Remarkably, though, in the second tablet Yamm's behavior does not accord with this expectation.

The envoy scene opens with Yamm dictating instructions to his messengers. The sea-god declares (*KTU* 1.2 I 13–19):

> Go, lad[s, don't dally,]
> [head for] the assembled council,
> fo[r Mount Lalu.]
> Don't fall [at El's feet,]
> nor bow to the [assembled] council.
> [Standing, speak the sp]eech,
> recite your instructions.
> Say to the Bull, [my] father [El],
> [recite to the assembled] council:
> "Message of Yamm, your lord,
> your master, Ruler Nahar:
> Give up, gods, the one you obey,
> the one the multitude fears;
> Give up Baal [so I may humble him,]
> Dagan's son, so I may seize his gold."

Several features of this speech are unexpected for a vassal. Most blatant is the instruction for the messengers not to bow before El and the assembled council. As we learn from a letter discovered at Mari, only the messengers of a vassal king were required to bow when presenting their message at a foreign court.[4] By telling his messengers not to bow, Yamm asserts that he is not subject to El. The wording of his message reinforces this idea and pushes it one step further. Yamm's

message does not simply declare that Yamm is not subject to El but asserts that El is actually subject to Yamm. The sea-god presents himself as the lord and master of El and the other gods. This is astounding behavior for one who owes his crown to El.

The disjunction between how Yamm acts and how a vassal is expected to act is not the only thing perturbing about Yamm's behavior. Given his claim to be the lord and master of the other gods, other dissonant details emerge. Yamm's message to the other gods is modeled on contemporary epistolary practice.[5] First, the message's recipients are named (El and the assembled council), followed by the sender (Yamm/Ruler Nahar). Yamm also identifies his own status by including the phrase "your master/lord." Though rank-identifying phrases are not uncommon in epistles of this kind, it is unusual for a superior to include one when addressing an inferior. Kings did not make a habit of explicitly naming their superior position when addressing their subjects.[6]

To one familiar with local epistolary style, Yamm's assertion of his rank would have appeared out of place. Yamm's use of the phrase "your master/lord" comes across as an attempt at persuasion. Writing about the nature of authority, Bruce Lincoln has argued that persuasion is "actualized only when those who claim authority sense that they have begun to lose the trust of those over whom they seek to exercise it."[7] Precisely such overcompensation is at work in Yamm's message. Indeed, the message itself reveals the source of Yamm's anxiety: by referring to Baal as "the one you obey" (*dtqh*),[8] Yamm admits that the authority he claims on the basis of political rank goes unrecognized. Yet the Ugaritic poem never resolves the crisis of Yamm's authority, nor does it affirm the principle of sovereignty to which he appeals.

One might respond that the poem never reaffirms Yamm's authority because his claim to sovereignty is spurious from the start. Then it would not be sovereignty as such, but only Yamm's spurious claim to sovereignty that the poem marks as problematic. But the gods' own response to Yamm's messengers complicates such an interpretation. In reply to Yamm's demand, El proclaims (*KTU* 1.2 I 36–38): "Baal is your vassal, O Yamm,/Baal is your vassal, O [Nahar,]/Dagan's son, your p[ri]soner./He will indeed bring you tribute,/like the gods he'll bring [you a gift,]/the sons of the Holy One, offerings." Despite the affront to El's position inherent in the form of Yamm's message and the failure of his messengers to bow, El agrees to the sea-god's demand. Furthermore, El's response acknowledges Yamm's position as suzerain over the other gods. Though it is not certain whether El includes himself in this collective, the parallel with Yamm's assertion of sovereignty over both El and the assembled council suggests that he does. As their behavior following El's speech shows, the other gods also accept Yamm's authority. The gods' assenting response to Yamm's demand adds a further disjunctive twist to the episode. The tensions of the scene are encapsulated in the relationship between the narrator's line introducing El's speech and that speech itself. Whereas the narrator

identifies El as "Bull El, his father" (*ṯr . abh . ʾil*) – that is, with a kinship term that marks El as Yamm's political superior – El himself behaves as if he were Yamm's subject (*KTU* 1.2 I 36).

It is in itself not surprising that the father of the gods would side with Yamm against Baal at this point in the narrative. The fragmentary early portions of the poem not only indicate El's enthronement of Yamm, but also suggest that El invested the sea-god with the task of attacking Baal (*KTU* 1.1 IV 24–25).[9] Though El's motivations remain unidentified, the text hints that the divine father was no friend to Baal. An element of this antagonism between El and Baal can be glimpsed in the lead-up to El's reply to Yamm's messengers. The poet describes the gathering of gods at Mount Lalu (*KTU* 1.2 I 20–21): "Meanwhile the gods sit down to fea[st,]/the sons of the Holy One, to dine./Baal serving (standing up to?) El." The phrase *bʿl . qm . ʿl . ʾil* is difficult. The line has traditionally been taken to depict Baal as standing in a subservient position with respect to El. Mark S. Smith, for instance, translates the line as "Baal waits on El," whereas Dennis Pardee has similarly rendered it "Baʿlu attending on ʾIlu."[10] As far as I can tell, this way of rendering the idiom goes back to H. L. Ginsberg, who took it to mean "attend upon."[11] Smith has claimed that the idiom "characterizes a courtier before his lord" so that "Baal seems subservient by 'standing before' (*qm ʿl*) the enthroned El, while El appears as the leader of the divine council."[12]

But the linguistic grounds for Baal "standing before" El are debatable. Contextual evidence in Ugaritic and related languages suggests instead that the storm-god was "standing up to" him. Following Frank Cross and others, Smith provides a list of passages from the Hebrew Bible that supposedly approximate the Ugaritic idiom. None of them literally does so. They attest to an idiom combining the preposition *ʿl* with the verb **ʿmd* (to stand) and not with the verb **qwm* (to rise). Cross blurs this distinction by stating that "this idiomatic use of *ʿl* with a verb of 'standing' is well known."[13] But only the Hebrew idiom *ʿmd ʿl* is used to convey the subservient standing of a courtier before his lord; by contrast, the Hebrew idiom *qwm ʿl* consistently conveys the antagonistic sense of "to stand up against."[14]

Examples abound. For instance, in Deuteronomy 19:11 the idiom describes someone who sets upon and strikes another; it is also often used to describe enemies who stand up against Israel (e.g., Deuteronomy 28:7); and, perhaps most interestingly, it is used by Jotham in his accusation of the people of Shechem for turning against (*ʾtm qmtm ʿl*) his father's house by proclaiming Abimelech king (Judges 9:18). This antagonistic sense of the Hebrew idiom also belongs to its Aramaic counterpart. According to Jonas Greenfield, *qwm ʿl* means "rise against," not "stand by" – which is expressed by the distinct idiom *qwm l*.[15] The standard translation, therefore, is unsupported by the parallels usually used to validate it. The Hebrew and Aramaic evidence suggests, rather, that the text denotes some form of antagonism toward El. Though evidence from Ugaritic itself is more limited, the verb *qwm* on its own does sometimes have the nuance of "rise up against" and the

noun *qm* probably means "adversary."[16] Considering the known connotations the verb could have in Ugaritic in light of the general tenor of the scene, it is preferable to interpret the Ugaritic idiom in line with its Northwest Semitic parallels.[17] If so, the scene on Mount Lalu is already marked by tensions related to authority even before Yamm's messengers arrive to state the sea-god's demand.

Upon hearing El's reply to the demand, Baal becomes furious (*'ap . 'anš . zbl . b'l*) and attacks Yamm's messengers. The act is a quintessential affront to diplomatic norms.[18] Before this the assembled gods had complied with Baal's demand that they meet Yamm's messengers with heads lifted high. At that moment Yamm seemed justified in his accusation that the gods obey Baal rather than him. Now, following Baal's battering of the messengers, the gods line up against him (*KTU* 1.2 I 40–41): "[An]at grabs [his right hand,]/Athtart grabs his left./'How co[uld you batter Yamm's envoys,]/[the em]bassy of Ruler Nahar?'" The gods respond to Baal's assault by restraining the storm-god and rebuking him. Like El, the other gods ultimately defer to Yamm's authority. This despite the poem's signals to its audience that the legitimacy of Yamm's rule is far from unambiguous.

The final surviving lines of the episode reiterate the schism between Baal and the gods regarding sovereignty. Baal begins a speech (*KTU* 1.2 I 45–46): "I, for my part, say to Yamm, your lord/ [your] master, [Ruler Nahar]" (*an rgmt . lym . b'lkm ./ ad*[*nkm . ṯpt nhr*]). Using language that echoes the opening formula of Yamm's message, Baal refers to the sea-god as *your* lord and *your* master. With these pronouns, Baal sets himself apart from those subject to Yamm's authority. Not only does Baal dispute Yamm's assertion of authority over him; he also indicates that through their present actions the other gods have affirmed Yamm's claim over them. Baal's use of the first person independent pronoun *'an*, which here has the force of the English phrase "for my part," emphasizes this distinction.[19] Baal's remark suggests that lordship is a matter of acquiescence, not a feature of a fixed order.

Because it layers outrageous claims to authority with pronouncements of acceptance or rejection that do not conform to the rules of legitimacy, the whole scene makes the case that Baal's complaint is correct: no ruler is inherently legitimate and no order is really fixed. The poem highlights speeches that enact – rather than simply reiterate – a set order and thereby suggests that sovereign authority is not a fixed entity but the result of *successfully made claims*. Lincoln has noted that authority's "success in some measure depends on naturalizing itself and obscuring the very processes of which it is the product."[20] The foregoing suggests that the Baal Cycle employs a variety of techniques to contravene such naturalizing tendencies in the production of authority as it was understood in the Late Bronze Age vassal–suzerain relationship.

***

Having elucidated the envoy scene, it remains to consider how the episode fits in the framework of the poem. This requires addressing certain questions about the material remains of the tablet fragment on which the episode is inscribed.[21]

Before careful examination of the tablet's shape revised it, the traditional scholarly understanding had put the order of events as follows: Yamm's envoy (recto of RS 3.367), some missing events (traces on recto of RS 3.367), the construction of Yamm's palace (RS 3.346), and finally the battle between Baal and Yamm (verso of RS 3.367). According to this reconstruction, the battle was the climax of the conflict between Baal and Yamm. But this reconstruction does not fit with the shape of Ugaritic tablets, which tend to have clear fronts and backs. Instead, a fresh analysis of the tablet's curvature by Dennis Pardee has determined that the recto/verso orientation should be reversed.[22] This yields the following sequence: the battle between Baal and Yamm; then, after a significant lacuna, Kothar's construction of Yamm's palace and the conversation involving Shapsh; an all but lost third column; finally, the scene with Yamm's envoy. At first glance, this new order may seem strange. If Baal defeats Yamm in the first column of the tablet, why is the sea-god sending an envoy to El three columns later? Allowing the epigraphic indications to guide the inquiry requires adopting a new framework for approaching the dramatic action of the first two tablets of the poem.

Let me begin by considering the immediate aftermath of Baal's battle with Yamm. Though Baal does indeed defeat Yamm, the denouement of the episode becomes fragmentary and is therefore uncertain (*KTU* 1.2 IV 25–40):

> Yamm collapses,
> He falls to the ground;
> His joints give way,
> And his body slumps.
> Baal grabs (him).
> As he sets about to dismember Yamm,
> To destroy Ruler Nahar,[23]
> By name Athtart rebukes him:
> "Shame/scatter, O Mighty B[aal]!
> Shame/scatter, O Cloudrider!
> For our captive is Prin[ce Yamm],
> [For] our captive is Ruler Nahar."
> As [the word] left her mouth,
> Mighty Baal scatters him/is ashamed.

After this point the passage becomes so fragmentary that one's predispositions as to what one thinks should be there can too easily influence what one finds.[24] It is important to recognize how little is certain about this section of the poem precisely because so much of one's overall interpretation of the work is likely to be based on what one takes to be the outcome of this battle.

Still, some observations are possible. By the end of the struggle, Yamm is found collapsed before Baal. Just as Baal is about to deal the final blow, Athtart raises her voice and rebukes him. The full import of the rebuke is difficult to determine

because the meaning of the word *bṯ* is uncertain. Some have taken it to be from the known Northwest Semitic root meaning "shame," whereas others have connected it to the Arabic word *batta* "to spread; scatter, disperse."[25] Each proposal has its strengths and its drawbacks; paronomasia should not be ruled out. However one resolves this detail, the rebuke does seem to forestall Baal's destruction of Yamm. Athtart suggests that captivity, not utter destruction, is the proper outcome for Yamm – and Baal seems to concede.[26] If Yamm dies at this point in the poem, the evidence for this comes only from the drastically damaged portion of the tablet.

Turning to that portion of the tablet, we find the word sequence *ym . l mt* in line 32 and again in line 34. If the sequence is a distinct phrase of direct discourse, it may constitute an announcement of Yamm's death by attending deities.[27] Smith translates, "So Yamm is dead!"; Pardee opts for the similar, "Yammu is certainly dead."[28] The precise import of this statement regarding Yamm's death is difficult to gauge. If Baal does acquiesce to Athtart's assertion that Yamm is to be a captive (hence not destroyed), the subsequent declaration regarding the god's death is unexpected. There is also the problem of Yamm's later involvement in the poem. Even without reordering the columns of tablet two so that the envoy scene follows the battle, Yamm reappears at *KTU* 1.4 VI 12 and 1.4 VII 3–4 in a way that suggests that he remains active.[29]

Much depends on what it means for a god to die in this poem. Considering Baal's later adventures with Mot, death seems to not be an absolute state. Moreover, "death" may have conveyed more than just a biological meaning in the Late Bronze Age. The terms for life and death were commonly used as political idioms, so the accession and deposition of kings were treated in terms of birth and dying.[30] Benteshina, the ruler of Ugarit's southern neighbor Amurru, provides a striking contemporary example; deposed by Muwatalli II, he was later reinstated by Hattusili III – and so both "died" and was "reborn."[31] The approach I have taken so far would recommend considering Yamm's "death" in light of this political practice. That the phrase announcing Yamm's death likely continues with the assertion "Baal rei[gns!]" (*b'lm . yml*[*k*]) adds plausibility to this political approach. Though any details regarding Yamm's possible later "political rehabilitation" are shrouded in mystery, it is worth noting that among the largely lost events that fill the space between the battle scene and the envoy scene (according to the newly proposed order) is El's instruction to build Yamm a palace. The political allegiances and machinations that form the backdrop of the envoy scene are complex.

The aftermath of the battle has traditionally been imagined as a climactic moment in which the gods proclaim Baal's kingship.[32] This parallels the gods' declaration "Marduk is king!" (^{d}AMAR.UTU-*ma* LUGAL) in *Enuma elish* after the victory over Tiamat.[33] Assuming that the scholarly consensus is largely correct and that a pronouncement of Baal's reign does conclude the battle, it remains to consider the import of this declaration. The parallel declarations must be understood within the context of how each poem envisions order. As discussed in

Chapter 4, the victory over Tiamat and pronouncement of Marduk's kingship in the Babylonian poem mark a transition from a primordial epoch to a new one; the new epoch, to which the present belongs, is characterized by the ongoing reign of Marduk. By contrast, no transition of epochs occurs in the Baal Cycle. The change of rulers takes place within the world as we already know it – it does not mark a transition into that world. This has ramifications for the gods' declaration of Baal's kingship.

Just as Yamm may not remain "dead," Baal may not remain "king." The statement "Baal reigns!" is a context-specific speech act and must be read with reference to the rest of the narrative. Whether the battle takes place before or after the envoy scene, the declaration of Baal's kingship must be recognized as just that, a *declaration*. Its relationship to the reality of things is no less complicated than Yamm's assertion of lordship at the start of the envoy scene. If Pardee is correct that the envoy scene occurs *after* the gods' declaration of Baal's kingship, this point can be taken one step further. Baal's failure to exhibit leadership among the gods, though they had declared him king, only makes more manifest the complex discursive quality of such statements about rule.

***

The envoy scene is a literary depiction of a crisis in authority. It frames this crisis in terms that allude to Bronze Age ideas about fugitives and extradition. Allusion to these legal matters cuts to the heart of contemporary conceptions of sovereignty. Comparison with several roughly contemporaneous sources, both legal and literary, can help elucidate the political implications of this literary depiction of authority in crisis.

In his commentary, Mark Smith compares the account of Yamm's messengers to a passage in the Hebrew Bible that also features messengers sent to deliver a royal demand.[34] The text is an account of a war between King Ben-hadad of Aram and King Ahab of Israel:

> And Ben-hadad the king of Aram gathered all his army, and there were thirty-two kings with him, and horses, and chariots; and he went up and besieged Samaria, making war on it. And he sent messengers into the city to Ahab king of Israel, and said to him, "Thus says Ben-hadad: 'Your silver and your gold are mine; your fairest wives and children also are mine.'" And the king of Israel answered, "As you say, my lord, O king, I am yours, and all that I have."[35]

Smith notes five elements this scene shares with the Ugaritic episode. First, Ben-hadad, like Yamm, uses messengers. Second, the messengers in the biblical passage use the introductory formula "Thus says Ben-hadad," just as Yamm's messengers repeat "Message of Yamm, your lord." Third, the message in both texts is memorized and proclaimed orally before the adversary. Fourth, the envoys

demand the possessions of the surrendering foe. Fifth, and finally, both passages contain an expression of submission from the defeated. Along with these similarities, Smith mentions one divergence: whereas Ahab submits to Ben-hadad himself, "it is El who on behalf of the divine assembly formally declares Baal's surrender. Baal does not express his own surrender."[36]

The comparison rests on an analogy between Baal and Ahab as figures under pressure. But the respective positions of Baal and Ahab are not precisely analogous. Consider the following diagram consisting of three terms:

demander	*>>> addresses >>>*	*demandee*
	(with respect to) **object demanded**	

In the biblical passage the demander is Ben-hadad, the demandee is Ahab, and the object demanded is tribute (silver, gold, fairest wives, and children). In the Ugaritic episode, Yamm, of course, is the demander. But what about Baal? Instead of fitting in the slot of demandee, Baal plays the role of object demanded. In the Ugaritic poem the demandee is El. What is the significance of this difference?

Another Hebrew text helps to clarify the political stakes in the Ugaritic episode. Toward the end of the Book of Samuel, a rebellion erupts in King David's realm. Sheba, the son of Bichri, publicly denies David's authority, and as a result all but the tribe of Judah withdraw their allegiance from the king. In response, David sends out his army to capture Sheba. The latter takes refuge in Abel of Beth-maacah, leading David's general Joab to lay siege to that city. A woman standing on the city walls pleads with Joab to spare the city. Joab replies that his intention is not to destroy the city but only to capture the man who "has raised his hand against the king, against David."[37] If they hand him over, Joab explains, all will go well for the city.

By supplying the gloss "against David" to the phrase "against the king," Joab signals on the semantic level the crisis of political authority that the story narrates. The equivalence that should be between "David" and "king" is put into question. The town's response will determine whether the people accept the equation that Joab articulates. The story concludes:

> And the woman said to Joab, "Look, his head is about to be flung to you from the wall." And the woman came in her wisdom to all the people, and they cut off the head of Sheba son of Bichri and flung it to Joab. And he blew the ram's horn and they dispersed from the town, every man to his tent, but Joab came back to Jerusalem.[38]

By handing over Sheba (or, at any rate, his head), the city acknowledges its allegiance to David as king. The crisis is resolved and all returns to normal.

Structurally, the situation in the Baal Cycle corresponds more closely to this passage from the Book of Samuel than to the one in the Book of Kings. The monarchs Yamm and David both reside at a distance from the main scene of action. Yamm sends his messengers; David sends Joab.[39] Both are tasked with the capture of an individual who refuses to show obeisance to the king. When they arrive at their destination, neither Yamm's messengers nor Joab address themselves directly to the sought-after individual. Yamm's messengers state their demand to El and the assembled gods, Joab to the woman as spokesperson for the town collective. Both Yamm's messengers and Joab demand that their addressees give up the wanted man.

The Ugaritic text uses the G-stem imperative of the verb **ytn* in the sense of "give up, surrender, hand over,"[40] whereas the biblical text uses the imperative with the cognate root **ntn*. In both episodes, those addressed choose to meet the demands of the distant king. By having Yamm's messengers address El rather than Baal, the Ugaritic poem evokes a traditional topos that puts Baal in the position of a rebel seeking refuge from his legal lord.[41]

Whereas the people successfully cut off Sheba's head, El's decision to hand over Baal incites the storm-god to attack Yamm's messengers. By the end of the biblical story, authority in Israel is restored. Not so in the Ugaritic poem. Baal's resistance to being handed over only exacerbates the crisis of Yamm's authority. Baal shows himself to be more formidable than Sheba. Far from finding a resolution, the crisis that the demand for a fugitive rebel signifies is only deepened.

Though the biblical text dates to the Iron Age, the literary topos of the demand for a fugitive rebel is much older. The Old Hittite "Tale of Zalpa" tells the story of Happi, an out-of-favor Hittite prince who incited the city of Zalpa to rebel against the king of Hatti. The Hittite sovereign learns of this and sets out with his troops. The Hittites and Zalpans then meet in battle. The Hittites triumph, but Happi escapes and takes refuge in the city of Zalpa. Sometime later, the king initiates another campaign to capture the rebel prince:

> In the third year the king went and blockaded Zalpa. He remained there for two years. He demanded the extradition of Tabarna and Happi, but the men of the city would not give them up. So (the Hittite troops) besieged them until they all died. The king returned to Hattusa to worship the gods, but he left the old king there. He went up against the city (saying) "I will become your king." But the population was with them (the rebels), so he destroyed the city.[42]

As in the story of Sheba, a rebel leader incites a population against a sovereign ruler, who in turn dispatches the army against the rebel. As a result, the rebel takes refuge in a city, which leads to a siege. While besieging the city, the royal authority demands that the city give up the rebel. The city is faced with a choice: either

give up the rebel – an act that would prove its loyalty to the king and therefore save it from destruction – or harbor the fugitive and take his guilt on itself.[43]

The wise woman of Abel of Beth-maacah persuaded her compatriots to opt for the first option; the population of Zalpa takes the second course. In the biblical story the city is saved, whereas in the Hittite account it is destroyed. Yet both stories conclude with the suppression of the revolt and so a resolution to the crisis. As these two stories show, the authority of the king can be restored in one of two ways: either the people demonstrate their allegiance to the king by handing over the rebel who then gets his comeuppance, or they show themselves disloyal and are collectively annihilated. Either way, the topos is used to reassert the legitimacy of the reigning authority by representing the successful suppression of a challenge to the traditional order.

These literary depictions of the demand for a fugitive reflect real-world experience. Nonliterary texts likewise address the issue of fugitives and their return.[44] A letter unearthed at Ugarit has both thematic and lexical parallels with the Baal Cycle. The queen of Ugarit writes to one Yarmîhaddu regarding a servant that she has been trying to retrieve:

> [Me]ssage of the queen: To Yarmîhaddu, my brother, say: (As for) the tablet (in which I said): "Your man whom I took . . .; and I, for my part, gave his wife to you; and that man labored on my farm; but that man returned to his wife at your house; and you are the lord . . .; so this man must be seized, and deliver him over to my messenger-party." Now, seeing that he has not moved, and (that) I have not sent a messenger to the king, but to you have I sent, so now, you must deliver him over to my messenger-party.[45]

As Yamm's message is modeled on contemporary epistolary style, this letter provides a relevant example of the kind of material that served as a model for the poet. The queen's letter opens with the word *ṯḥm* (message) followed by the sender's name, the recipient's name (in the poem the recipient is named earlier), and a "household metaphor." As Robert Hawley points out, this form of address is used when the sender does not want to be deferential.[46] This is as fitting to the queen's purposes as it is appropriate to Yamm's needs.

Form aside, there are important parallels in content between the two messages. Both the queen and Yamm send messengers with the task of escorting a sought-after individual back to his master. For the queen, this is her second attempt. She refers to her previous effort as a *lḫt*, literally a "tablet." Her demand is equated with the physical item on which it was written.[47] Similarly, in the poem Baal rebukes the other gods for not answering "the tablet (*lḫt*) of Yamm's messengers" (*KTU* 1.2 I 26). He, too, has in mind the demand written on the tablet. In both places, the demand is phrased using the verb **ytn* to designate the action that the addressee is ordered to accomplish.[48] Finally, the demand is in each case

addressed to a party other than the person being sought. Like the queen's servant, Baal is spoken about rather than spoken to.

The queen's letter refers to the runaway as a *bnš* (man, laborer). Though the letter corresponds in remarkable ways to the passage from the Baal Cycle, the queen's concerns are not political in the way that Yamm's are. In the context of the poem, the return of a runaway dependent takes the form of extraditing a rebellious subject – as it does in the cases of Sheba and Happi. Concerned with maintaining the political status quo, the Great Kings of the Late Bronze Age embedded extradition rules into the legal fabric of international relations.

A number of stipulations in treaties from the period address the return of fugitives.[49] A treaty between Hatti and Kizzuwatna phrases the issue this way:

> If a subject of the Great King plots against his lord and then enters the land of Kizzuwatna, and the Great King sends after the fugitive, saying thus: "He revolted against me. I will have him returned!" . . . The fugitive must be returned.[50]

A similar clause is found in a Hittite treaty with Ugarit, according to which "if a fugitive flees from Hatti and comes to the land of Ugarit, Niqmepa shall seize him and return him to Hatti."[51] Opposition to a suzerain was deemed a fundamental infraction of the international legal order.

These were not mere abstract legal principles for the treatment of fugitives; they functioned at the heart of international political negotiations. Take, for example, the story of Mashuiluwa, king of Mira. According to the official Hittite version recorded in the historical prologue to Mursili II's treaty with Kupanta-Kurunta, palace intrigue forced Mashuiluwa to flee his native land in western Anatolia. Taking refuge in Hattusa, Mashuiluwa was welcomed by Suppiluliuma I, who gave him a Hittite princess in marriage. After Suppiluliuma's death, Mursili continued his father's policy of goodwill toward Mashuiluwa by installing him as lord of Mira. Despite this treatment, "Mashuiluwa quarreled with me (*scil*. Mursili), stirred up the land of Pitassa and the Hittites, my own subjects, against me, and would have [begun war] against me."[52] Mursili's initial response was to demand that Mashuiluwa travel to Hattusa and present himself before his lord. This direct appeal failed, says Mursili, "because Mashuiluwa saw his offense [and] accordingly refused."[53] Concluding that dealing directly with Mashuiluwa was futile, Mursili turned to the men of Masa. As he tells it:

> Then I, the Sun, sent a man to the other men of the land of Masa to whom Mashuiluwa had gone over. I wrote to them as follows: "Mashuiluwa was my sworn ally, but he quarreled with me, stirred up my subjects against me, and would have begun war against me. Now he has fled before me and has just come to you. Seize him and turn him over to me! If you do not seize him and

> turn him over to me, I will come and destroy you, together with your land." And when the men of the land of Masa heard this, they became frightened and seized Mashuiluwa, and turned him over to me. I took him by the hand, and [because] he had offended [against me, the Sun], I took him to Hattusa.[54]

The Hittite Great King describes how he sent an envoy with an extradition order to the men of Masa, demanding that they hand over a vassal refusing to behave properly toward his lord. Those addressed obeyed the command and handed over the wanted man. The crisis ends in conformity with the reigning law, and so sovereign authority is reinforced.

The Ugaritic poem maps the legal *topos* of an extradition demand onto a mythological type-scene in which a sea-god poses a threat to the other gods. Two poetic fragments that also depict a divine council's response to a sea-god's demands throw the Baal Cycle's version of this scene into sharper relief. The first fragment, discovered in the Hittite capital of Hattusa, belongs to a poem known as the "Song of the Sea."[55] The extant Hittite text is likely a translation or reworking of a Hurrian composition. Though the text is obscure, it seems to describe a flood produced by the sea that reaches up to the heavens, touching the sun, the moon, and the stars. Threatened, Kumarbi (roughly the Hittite equivalent of El) orders that tribute of lapis lazuli, ivory, silver, and gold be handed over to the sea. The goddess Ishtar is then mentioned, probably as the one who conveys the tribute.

The image of floodwaters reaching to the sky suggests that the cosmic order – and with it the current divine regime – is being threatened. The sea's antagonist is not just one disobedient god (Baal), but the reigning order of the gods itself. To appease the sea, the gods send tribute.[56] They do so as a collective because the sea opposes them all equally. They strive to preserve order in a situation in which the sea is the disturber of order. By contrast, in the Baal Cycle, Yamm is depicted, together with the gods, as on the side of order, whereas it is Baal who breaks the law. Though both texts depict an exchange between the gods and the sea, the meaning of that exchange is not the same. In the Hittite text, the gods send gifts to the sea as an act of appeasement designed to save the rule of law that they themselves, in opposition to the sea, embody. Conversely, in the Ugaritic poem the gods hand over Baal in accord with the law that Yamm himself represents.

The second fragment comes from a papyrus discovered in Egypt commonly known as "Astarte and the Tribute to the Sea."[57] The opening portion of the text identifies the composition's main purpose as celebrating the exploits of Seth, who served as a divine model for the Egyptian sovereign Amenhotep II.[58] In Egyptian thinking of the period, Seth was regularly equated with Baal.[59] Unsurprisingly, therefore, among the god's praiseworthy exploits was a combat with the sea.[60] In fact, the introduction names "that which he (*scil*. Seth-Baal) did for the Ennead

in fighting the sea" as the work's main theme.[61] In light of the discussion so far, this line is revealing. Like the Hittite poetic fragment, this Egyptian composition depicts a conflict between the gods and the sea. Moreover, here the deity Seth-Baal is explicitly credited as the gods' champion.[62]

The account of the battle between Seth-Baal and the sea is missing from the extant fragments of the papyrus. The rise of Seth-Baal as the gods' champion and his defeat of the sea would have been told in a later, lost portion of the narrative. The known early episode provides a background to Seth-Baal's exploits. Like the passage from the Baal Cycle and the Hittite fragment, the scene depicts the sea making a demand of the gods. In this case, the demand seems to consist first of tribute of "silver, gold, and lapis lazuli" but then also of Astarte as a wife. In this latter detail, the Egyptian text resembles the Baal Cycle in that an individual is demanded – though, of course, demanding a fugitive and demanding a wife are not the same. Whereas the former is a mark of the rule of law, the latter (if undesired) only serves to exacerbate injustice.

The poem's explicit purpose of celebrating Seth-Baal's act of championing the gods against the sea suggests that this marriage (and the tribute) was imposed on the gods against their will. The Egyptian account presents the sea's demands as unjust. As long as they continue, the authority of the gods remains in crisis. With Seth-Baal's defeat of the sea, that crisis is resolved and the authority of the gods restored. As their champion, Seth-Baal achieves the will of the gods against the tyranny of the sea. By contrast, in the parallel scene in the Ugaritic poem Yamm demands the extradition of a rebel rather than the payment of tribute or the delivery of a wife. In this context, Yamm would appear to be the upholder of justice.

The two poetic fragments just surveyed – the Hittite "Song of the Sea" and the Egyptian "Astarte Papyrus" – provide valuable comparative evidence for how demands made to the divine council by the sea were formulated in literature of the Late Bronze Age. The Baal Cycle stands out in that it does not use the type-scene to reaffirm the legitimacy of the reigning law and the political positions that that law enshrines. Instead, it turns matters on their head by placing the protagonist in the position of the rebel who disrupts order, thereby rendering questionable the principles according to which that order is defined.

As a final comparison, I would like to return to *Enuma elish*. Like the Baal Cycle, the Babylonian poem depicts both a threat to the assembly of gods and an extradition demand for a rebel. But unlike the Baal Cycle, *Enuma elish* does not incorporate these two *topoi* in the same scene. Recognizing how they worked separately in Babylon helps to clarify the significance of their fusion at Ugarit.

The Babylonian poem recounts the rise of Marduk to his supreme position in the pantheon. Marduk achieves this status by saving the gods from Tiamat's attack. At the height of the gods' panic over Tiamat's threat, unable to find a champion to defend them, Marduk steps forward. He makes it very clear that should he defend

them, they must recognize him unequivocally and grant him full authority. He sets the following conditions (*Enuma elish*, II, 156–62):

> If indeed I am to champion you,
> Subdue Tiamat and save your lives,
> Convene the assembly, nominate me for supreme destiny!
> Take your places in the Assembly Place of the Gods.
> All of you, in joyful mood,
> When I speak, let me ordain destinies instead of you.
> Let nothing that I shall bring about be altered,
> Nor what I say be revoked or changed.[63]

These conditions determine Marduk's status once the battle is won; they also grant legitimacy to the very act of combating Tiamat. By agreeing to his conditions, the gods ensure that any fighting Marduk does against Tiamat enjoys their full backing. This is how the gods respond (*Enuma elish*, IV, 27–34):

> When the gods his fathers saw what he commanded,
> Joyfully they hailed, "Marduk is King!"
> They bestowed in full measure scepter, throne, and staff,
> They gave him unstoppable weaponry that vanquishes enemies.
> "Go, cut off the life of Tiamat,
> Let the winds bear her blood away as glad tidings!"
> The gods, his fathers, ordained the Lord's destiny,
> On the path to success and authority did they send him marching.

There is no question that when Marduk goes out to fight Tiamat, he goes on behalf of the gods. Nor is there any doubt that the regime Marduk establishes following his defeat of Tiamat enjoys full legitimacy.

Later in *Enuma elish*, the Babylonian poets employ the "demand for a fugitive" trope to underscore this legitimacy. Toward the end of the narrative, after Marduk has achieved his victory and been fully enthroned, Qingu remains to be dealt with. At this point, Marduk addresses the minor gods who had sided with Tiamat during the battle (*Enuma elish*, VI, 23–26):

> Who was it that made war,
> Suborned Tiamat and drew up for battle?
> Let him be given over to me, the one who made war,
> I shall make him bear his punishment, you shall be released.

The defeated gods know what they must do. They promptly name Qingu as responsible and deliver him to Marduk. With the eradication of Qingu, nothing is

left to disturb Marduk's ordered rule of the universe. The trope of a king's demand that a fugitive be handed over belongs to poetic devices that establish this point.

In *Enuma elish*, all elements line up with each other: the threat to divine order is depicted as demonic and chaotic; the hero is endorsed by the gods; the hero is victorious over the enemy, and this victory is depicted as an act of freeing the gods from bondage; the victorious god is associated with the only form of legitimate law; the enemy of the victorious god is depicted as a fugitive rebel; and all the gods endorse the rule of the victor by handing over the criminal.

The Baal Cycle could not be more different. Instead of alignment, there is a series of disjunctions: the threat is directed against a lone god, Baal, not the collectivity of gods; it is presented as the lawful punishment of a figure who has transgressed the reigning law; the hero of the poem is at odds with the other gods, not their champion; the demand for a fugitive does not issue in a resolution to the crisis (through extradition or collective destruction), but only exacerbates it; and finally, rather than unequivocally indicating the seat of sovereignty, the scene depicts claimants vying for authority without clearly indicating where legitimacy lies.

***

If Baal eventually acquires the right to rule, it is not because his kingship is a constituent element of an ordered universe. By implication, neither the kingship of Baal's human devotee (the king of Ugarit) nor the suzerainty of that king's overlord (the king of Hatti) enjoys cosmic grounding.

The envoy scene in the Baal Cycle repeatedly plays on the dichotomy between up and down. The messengers are instructed to stand rather than bow. At *KTU* 1.2 I 18, Yamm says he intends to "humble" Baal (*w ʿnnh*), an act that holds connotations of lowering, subordinating, or cutting down that which is high. By contrast, Baal is said in line 21 to "rise up" (*qm*).[64] Moreover, a lengthy exchange in the middle of the episode revolves around a description of the gods lowering and raising their heads (*KTU* 1.2 I 21–29). These details draw attention to the central theme of the episode – namely, what underlies the hierarchical political relationship between vassal and suzerain. The passage does not ascribe sovereign authority to an enduring order; on the contrary, it works against any absolute notion of above and below. In the world of the Baal Cycle, no fixed hierarchy underlies political relations.

Ugarit's experience as a vassal state subservient to Hatti informed this representation. According to Bronze Age conventions, vassal status was grounded in an international order that reflected the organization of a kin-based household – with its fathers, sons, brothers, slaves, and masters. The extension of these relations to the international sphere rested upon a legal fiction that aimed to bolster the idea that politics conformed to a natural hierarchy. Instead of reinforcing this fiction, the Baal Cycle throws it into doubt. As a witness to (and participant in) a world of

incessant power struggles and competing assertions of authority, Ugarit produced a poem that encourages its audience to engage with the idea of a universe that lacks the comforts of order. The story of Baal's rise in such a world served as the vehicle for a critical form of political wisdom. The next chapter further explores this critique of contemporary political ideology with respect to perhaps the most common political metaphor of the day: kinship.

Notes

1 *UBC* 1, 105.
2 For a recent epigraphic treatment of this tablet, see Pardee 2007a. Based on the ductus, Pardee is nearly certain that the tablet belongs to the work of Ilimilku. He also argues that the curvature of the fragment shows that the order of the columns as they were assigned in the editio princeps should be reversed. I follow this reversed order in the discussion that follows. Pardee's current opinion on the order of the columns brings his position in line with the one taken by Mark S. Smith in *UBC* 1, 20–21; Pardee's own translation in *COS* must now be reordered.
3 See, for example, the historical prologue to Suppiluliuma I's treaty with Niqmaddu II of Ugarit (*CTH* 46; Beckman 1999: no. 4). On whether this text is in fact a treaty, as commonly described, see Devecchi 2013.
4 ARM 26.21. For a discussion of this principle, see Durand 1990 and LAPO 16: 70–1; cf. Meier 1988: 152–61.
5 *UBC* 1, 289; cf. Hawley 2003: 154–65.
6 Hawley 2010: 75. See RS 18.038 (*KTU* 2.39; *COS* 3.45I); RS 13.7B (*PRU* III, 6); RS 17.132 (*PRU* IV, 35); RS 17.130 (*PRU* IV, 103); RS 17.133 (*PRU* IV, 118); RS 17.292 (*PRU* IV, 188); RS 17.289 (*PRU* IV, 192); RS 17.423 (*PRU* IV, 193); RS 17.385 (*PRU* IV, 194); RS 20.174A (*Ug*. V, 25); RS 20.22 (*Ug*. V, 27); RS 20.237 (*Ug*. V, 31); and RS 20.216 (*Ug*. V, 35).
7 Lincoln 1994: 6.
8 For a discussion of the term, see *UBC* 1, 290–91. Based on its use in Genesis 49:10, the root **yqy* may suggest the particular form of obedience that a vassal is expected to extend to his suzerain.
9 Cf. the highly fragmentary passage *KTU* 1.1 I 1–28.
10 *UNP* 99; *COS* 1.86:246. Pardee (1975: 367) indicates uncertainty about this rendering of the idiom by marking the relevant entry with a question mark.
11 *ANET* 130.
12 *UBC* 1, 295–96.
13 Cross 1973: 37, n. 147.
14 Pardee (1976: 264) similarly uses a biblical parallel as support for the interpretation that the idiom means "attend upon, serve." He cites Genesis 18:8 *wĕhû' 'ômĕd 'ălêhem* (Abraham attending his guests) and remarks, "In Hebrew, however, the expression is in itself ambiguous, having either positive or negative connotations depending on the context. And context is precisely what we are lacking for the Ugaritic example." Though one must never disregard context, it is not simply context that is at play in rendering a positive or negative connotation for the idiom – it is also the verb that is employed with the preposition *'l*. In other words, we are dealing with two distinct idioms, not the same idiom employed in divergent contexts.
15 Greenfield 2001: 1:77; pace *UBC* 1, 295, n. 137.
16 *DULAT* 702. The instance under consideration is the only occurrence to my knowledge of the idiom *qwm 'l* in the Ugaritic corpus. Elsewhere in the poem, the idiom *yp' l* is used with the sense "rise against" (*KTU* 1.3 III 37 // 1.3 IV 4; cf. Pardee 1975: 348). This in itself should not disqualify a related meaning for *qwm 'l* in Ugaritic, for a

language can say similar things in multiple ways. More evidence is needed to distinguish nuances in meaning between these two idioms.

17 Oldenburg (1969: 135) sees the idiom as a mark of hostility between Baal and El.

18 See, for example, the Hittite treaty with Paddatissu of Kizzuwatna, in which it is stipulated, "If the Great [King] sends either his son or his subject to Paddatissu, Paddatissu shall not harm him" (CTH 26; Beckman 1999: no. 1, §3).

19 For a discussion of the grammar, see *UBC* 1, 313.

20 Lincoln 1994: 11.

21 The scene appears on the second tablet of the cycle. Tablet two most likely originally consisted of four columns, of which significant portions of two and only fragmentary remains of a third still remain. The two relatively well-preserved passages (which include the envoy scene) belong to the recto and verso of one large fragment (RS 3.367; *KTU* 1.2 I and 1.2 IV), whereas the remains of the third column appear on a separate fragment (RS 3.346; *KTU* 1.2 III) of which only one face survives. The epigraphic situation is summarized by Pardee in *COS* 1.86:245, n. 34; cf. *UBC* 1, 21–25. Pardee (2007b: 227, n. 1) has since reexamined the fragments and has reaffirmed that RS 3.346 most likely does belong to the same tablet as RS 3.367. I would like to thank Dennis Pardee for bringing this matter to my attention and for discussing it with me in more detail through email correspondence.

22 Pardee 2007b: 227, n. 1. On how to distinguish the recto from the verso according to curvature more generally, see Pardee 2007a: 118–19. With regard to the reliability of curvature as a determinant for tablet orientation at Ugarit, Pardee has commented, "I know of no exceptions to the general rule of tablet curvature, at least among the literary texts . . . All this must be qualified, however, by the observation that, when dealing with *CTA* 1 and 2, the fact that they are fragmentary must be kept in mind. That said, however, *CTA* 2 is a larger fragment than 1, and that indication is somewhat clearer in the larger fragment" (email correspondence, August 18, 2011). As a literary point supporting the reordering, Pardee notes that Baal's weapon *'aymr* is mentioned at *KTU* 1.2 I 6, which, according to the traditional ordering, would come before Kothar makes the weapon at *KTU* 1.2 IV 18–23 (email correspondence, January 19, 2011).

23 For a discussion of the mode of these verbs, see Greenfield 2001: 2:115–16; *UBC* 1, 355.

24 For a survey of past proposals, see *UBC* 1, 358–61.

25 For discussion of the proposals, see *UBC* 1, 357; cf. Pardee, *COS* 1.86:249, n. 63 and Lewis 2011.

26 Assuming the traditional order, Mark S. Smith astutely observes a link between the first and fourth columns of the tablet. Commenting on the end of the battle scene, he writes (*UBC* 1, 357), "Athtart next proclaims in a nominal sentence that Yamm is 'our captive.' This proclamation reverses the fortunes of Baal pronounced by El in 1.2 I 37. Baal was Yamm's prisoner (*'asr*) in 1.2 I 37; now Yamm is Baal's captive (*šby*)." The link still holds, even though the order of scenes is reversed. But now it is Baal who is at the receiving end of this "poetic justice."

27 One interesting alternative is to take Yamm as the speaker of the following words. This is what Ginsberg suggested: "Yamm seems to say twice, 'I am dying, Baal will reign'" (*ANET* 113).

28 For Smith's translation, see *UNP* 104; cf. *UBC* 1, 324. For Pardee's rendering, see *COS* 1.86:249.

29 Cf. *UBC* 1, 357–58.

30 de Martino and Imparati 2001: 349. In *KTU* 1.5, Baal's death is connected to subjecting himself to Mot's rule as a vassal, as will be discussed in the next chapter.

31 Singer 2011: 222.

32 For instance, Mark Smith (*UNP* 105) provides the section heading "Two Deities Proclaim Baal's Kingship" for this part of his translation.

33 *Enuma elish* 4.28; cf. *UBC* 1, 358. The better-preserved Babylonian poem has surely influenced renderings of the fragmentary Ugaritic text.

34 *UBC* 1, 294.
35 1 Kings 20: 1–4.
36 *UBC* 1, 294, n. 134.
37 2 Samuel 20: 21a.
38 2 Samuel 20: 21b-22.
39 Who David in fact sends as his representative is complicated by palace intrigue in Jerusalem (cf. 2 Samuel 20:4–7). For our purposes it suffices that Joab presents himself as acting on David's behalf in his siege of Abel of Beth-maacah (and returns to David in Jerusalem at the end of the episode).
40 *DULAT* 190–92; cf. *UBC* 1, 290, n. 124.
41 I do not mean to suggest that all cases in which one asks that an individual be handed over are meant to invoke this trope of a demand for a fugitive. For instance, at *KTU* 1.6 II 12 Anat declares to Mot, "You, Mot, give up my brother" (*'at . mt . tn . 'aḫy*), without any allusion to the fugitive trope; likewise, when Mot insists that Baal "give up one of your brothers that I may eat him" (*tn . 'aḏd / b'aḫk . 'isp'a*) at *KTU* 1.6 V 19–20. In the present case, however, the combination of features in addition to the use of the verb **ytn* colors Yamm's demand with the connotations of a demand for a fugitive.
42 "The Queen of Kanesh and the Tale of Zalpa" (KBo 22.2; *COS* 1.71:182). Translation of the final line follows Starke 1977: 183; cf. Gilan 2007: 313, n. 55.
43 According to a Hittite treaty between Arnuwanda I and the men of Ismerika, only those individuals who commit an offense are to be punished (*CTH* 133; Beckman 1999: no. 1A, §10). Nevertheless, by aiding a fugitive or not handing him over to the authorities, one could take on oneself the same guilt as the offending party. The idea is expressed in a Middle Hittite letter to a regional official named Kashu, who had taken an offending subordinate king into his custody. The Hittite king writes, "Now put him (*scil*. the offending king) in the charge of an officer, and have him conduct him quickly before My Majesty. Otherwise, you take upon yourself his sin" (HKM 13; Hoffner 2009: no. 18).
44 Many of the relevant literary and nonliterary sources are conveniently gathered and discussed in Galvin 2011: 17–38.
45 RS 96.2039 (*RSO* XVIII 65); *COS* 3.45S (trans. Pardee).
46 Hawley 2010: 79.
47 For *lḥt* used in an abstract sense, see the discussion in *UBC* 1, 304–5; cf. the usage in RS 8.315:14–16 (*KTU* 2.72; *COS* 3.45C).
48 On the energic form of the verb employed by the queen, see Gzella 2010: 60–1.
49 See Beckman 1999: nos. 1, §1; 1A, §§7–8; 2, Hitt. §§5–9; 4, §3; 5, §§8–13; 6A, §9; 7, §§7, 9–10; 8, §§11, 13–15; 9, §§7–9, 11–13; 10, §§6, 12; 11, §§22–23; 12, §§4, 11–12; 13, §15; 15, §§12–19; cf. 27, §6. To be clear, not all these passages concern the extradition of political rebels. One must distinguish between the various kinds of fugitives discussed in the Hittite treaty texts. Often those called fugitives are civilian populations that have crossed borders. The interest in fugitives of this type derives from a concern to secure an adequate supply of manpower in the Hittite realm (Beckman, *HDT*, p. 64). Other stipulations deal instead with the return of individual slaves who have fled their masters, like the queen of Ugarit, whose letter is discussed earlier. Finally, and most importantly for our purposes, the treaties also discuss the treatment of individuals fleeing for political reasons.
50 *CTH* 26; Beckman 1999: no. 1, §1.
51 *CTH* 66; Beckman 1999: no. 9, §12.
52 *CTH* 68; Beckman 1999: no. 11, §4.
53 *CTH* 68; Beckman 1999: no. 11, §5.
54 *CTH* 68; Beckman 1999: no. 11, §6.
55 KBo 26.105. See Houwink ten Cate 1992: 117–19; Rutherford 2001: 603; Schneider 2003: 605–7; Blam 2004: 69–81; and Archi 2009: 219–21.
56 The Hittite word for tribute, *argamman-*, *argama-*, is identical to the Ugaritic word *'argmn* found both in El's speech at *KTU* 1.2 I 37 and the tribute document RS 11.772+. See Tischler 1983: 1.59–60.

57 P. Amherst (Pierpont Morgan) XIX–XXI (*ANET* 17–18; *COS* 1.23:35–36). The similarity between this Egyptian text and the Hittite text discussed earlier was pointed out by Houwink ten Cate (1992: 117). Collombert and Coulon (2000) have recently identified another fragment as belonging to the same papyrus roll, consisting of the incipit to the text.

58 Collombert and Coulon 2000: 208–9. On the pharaoh as a manifestation of the god Seth, see Hornung 1997: 285.

59 Stadelmann 1967: 32–47 and Allon 2007. For iconographic links, see Montet 1931–33: 200–6; cf. Cornelius 1994: 247.

60 As has long been noted, the work displays clear links with Levantine mythology – both in theme and terminology. For instance, the work uses the Semitic loanword *ym* (Yamm) rather than the indigenous Egyptian word for sea (Collombert and Coulon 2000: 220; cf. Hoch 1994: 52, no. 52). On the issue of Levantine links more generally, see Redford 1990; Collombert and Coulon 2000: 217–19; and Ayali-Darshan 2010.

61 Collombert and Coulon 2000: 200. On the Ennead, the group of nine deities that constituted the core Egyptian pantheon, see Hornung 1982: 221–3.

62 The victory of Seth over the sea is a theme attested in Egyptian medico-magical papyri. See pHearst, 11, 15–16 (Bardinet 1995: 397), pBerlin 3038 [189], 20, 9–21, 3 (Borghouts 1978: no. 73), and pLeiden I 343 + 345 [4] rt. 4, 9–6, 2 (Borghouts 1978: 23).

63 All translations of *Enuma elish* are taken from Foster 2005: 351–402.

64 Regardless of how one understands the idiom *qwm ʿl*, the base meaning of the verb itself denotes movement upward.

Taylor & Francis
Taylor & Francis Group
http://taylorandfrancis.com

6 Kinship contested

In diplomacy, as in family relationships, a shift in a single word can sometimes betoken a changed situation. In the middle of the Baal Cycle, Baal or one of his proxies complains four times of not having "a house like the gods'" (*wn . 'in . bt . lb ʿl . km . 'ilm*) or a "court like the sons of Athirat's" (*wḥẓr . kbn . 'aṯrt*).[1] Seven columns after Baal first expresses this lament, Anat brings the storm-god good news (*KTU* 1.4 V 27–29): "A house has been given you like your brothers',/A court like your kinsmen's." On the surface, the good news is straightforward enough: Baal will obtain the house that he lacks. But more is at stake in Anat's announcement. The language Anat uses to describe the house differs from the language of Baal's oft-repeated lament. In the earlier passages the house in question is described as *km 'ilm*, "like the gods'," and *kbn 'aṯrt*, "like the sons of Athirat's," whereas Anat now uses the phrases *km 'aḫk*, "like your brothers'," and *km 'aryk*, "like your kinsmen's." Why this shift in language, and what does it signify about Anat's good news? This chapter will explore how Ilimilku's poem alerts its audience to kinship's contingency on political interest.

Mark S. Smith and Wayne Pitard have recently remarked that the change in language "illustrates the type of variations that are possible within even a highly formulaic passage."[2] But this only heightens the question: Why, in a form of poetry known for its repetitions, does the standard formula give way precisely at this moment? Anat's message is no longer a statement of lack but an announcement of fulfillment. To say that the change is due to poetic variation misses the import of this shift. It is only after Baal's objective of a house is obtained – following a prolonged process in which the lament is repeated several times verbatim – that Athirat's sons are called Baal's brothers. The change in terminology is related to this new situation.

Anat's change of language should not be taken as a simple interchange of semantically equivalent phrases, but rather as a linguistic marker of a change in Baal's status. In the lament, Baal presents himself as not belonging to the family of El and Athirat.[3] Additional passages also suggest that Baal is an outsider with respect to Athirat's family – or, as I want to suggest, that he has been until this point in the narrative.[4] Anat can now call Athirat's sons "Baal's brothers" because

a transformation in the divine household has taken place. Baal's attainment of a house like the other gods' reflects a shift in his relationship to them. Those who were unrelated are now related. Baal has become a brother.[5]

The idea of becoming a brother in a political context would have resonated with the poem's ancient Ugaritic audience. Diplomatic documents from the Late Bronze Age bear witness to precisely such a process. As is well known, the term "brother" played a prominent role in the diplomatic language of the time.[6] Used between kings of equal status, it served to articulate a recognition of that equality and its legitimacy. But such status was never static. As the standing of political players changed, so, too, did their brotherhood.

How those political powers emerged would have acted as a background against which a contemporary audience could have interpreted the poem – not as a roman à clef, for the point is not to identify one-to-one correspondences between the poem and actual political events, but as a commentary on the norms that governed those events. By tracking this process in the extant political documents, this chapter aims to expose the political phenomenon on the basis of which the Ugaritic poem crafts the portrayal of its hero. Baal's success echoes terrestrial cases in which new polities emerged as brothers in the ancient Near East.

***

Upon completion of his house, Baal holds a feast to which he invites the other gods. Once again, Athirat's children are called Baal's brothers (*KTU* 1.4 VI 40–46):

> He slaughtered large stock [as well as] small,
> He felled bulls [and] fattened rams,
> Year old calves,
> Sheep by the flock with k[i]ds.
> He invited his brothers into his house,
> His kinsmen into his palace,
> He invited the seventy sons of Athirat.

The scene draws on a known political practice of Late Bronze Age kings.[7] In EA 3, for example, Kadashman-Enlil of Babylonia invites Amenhotep III of Egypt to a feast. "I have built a [ne]w [house]," he writes, "[No]w I am going to hav[e] a house-opening. Come [yourself] to [eat an]d drink with me."[8]

The kings themselves need not journey to participate in this custom. Due to the distances involved, kings in the Bronze Age would often send messengers as their proxies to a foreign monarch's court.[9] Speaking of messengers rather than personal attendance, the king of Alashiya refers to this custom in a letter to the king of Egypt (EA 34):

> Message of the king of Alashiya to the king of Egypt, my brother : . . . Look, you are my brother. As to your having written me, "Why did you not send

> your messenger to me?", the fact is that I had not heard that you were going to perform a sacrifice. Do not take this at all seriously. Since I have (now) heard (about it), I herewith send my messenger to you . . . I herewith send a *ḫabannatu*-jar [that] is full of "sweet oil" to be poured on your head, seeing that you have sat down on your royal throne.

Like Baal who "sacrifices, slaughters" (*ṭbḫ*) animals in preparation for his guests, the king of Egypt here hosts a "sacrifice" (Akk. *niqû*) to which his peers are invited. The occasion of the Egyptian monarch's feast is noteworthy. As the concluding line suggests, the festivities that the king of Alashiya missed seem to have been connected to a coronation ceremony – presumably Amenhotep IV's accession to the throne following the death of his father.[10] An enthronement is a proper occasion for such a feast: it marks the moment the host attains status equal to his guests', the neighboring monarchs, the moment the new king becomes one of the brothers.[11] The feast to which Baal invites his brothers is likely modeled on this diplomatic tradition of hosting one's fellow monarchs upon obtaining status as their brother.

So how did one become a brother in the Late Bronze Age? Some rulers became brothers in traditional fashion – by inheriting the throne from their fathers according to conventional rules of succession.[12] The principle that "brotherhood" could pass from one generation to the next can be found, for example, in a letter of Hattusili III to Kadashman-Enlil II.[13] The Hittite ruler assures the young king of Babylonia that the brotherhood he had enjoyed with the latter's late father was not "for a single day" but was always intended to persist beyond the death of any individual. Accordingly, Hattusili addresses the young Kadashman-Enlil as "brother," just as he had called his father Kadashman-Turgu "brother" before him.[14]

But one's path to brotherhood was not always so straightforward. Familiarity with Hattusili's career makes this apparent. This Hittite monarch assumed kingship, after all, by means of a coup, usurping the throne from his nephew, Mursili III (Urhi-Teshub). Hattusili's career provides a vivid example of how political status could be contested, gained, and lost. Being a brother was by no means a static fact in Late Bronze Age politics. And what was true for individuals was no less true for states. Tudhaliya IV of Hatti states in his treaty with Shaushgamuwa of Amurru, "The kings who are my equals in rank are the King of Egypt, the King of Babylonia, the King of Assyria, and the King of Ahhiyawa."[15] As has often been noted, the final member in this list was erased by the scribe who produced this document, suggesting that Ahhiyawa had actually lost its status as a great power by this point.[16]

Just as Ahhiyawa could fall, other kingdoms could rise. This is most strikingly the case with Assyria. Though its ruler is listed here as an equal king, such was not always the case. Assyria's rise to parity with the other great powers provides an instructive case for how one could become a brother in the Bronze Age. A series of documents allows us to follow Assyria's trajectory, from the period of

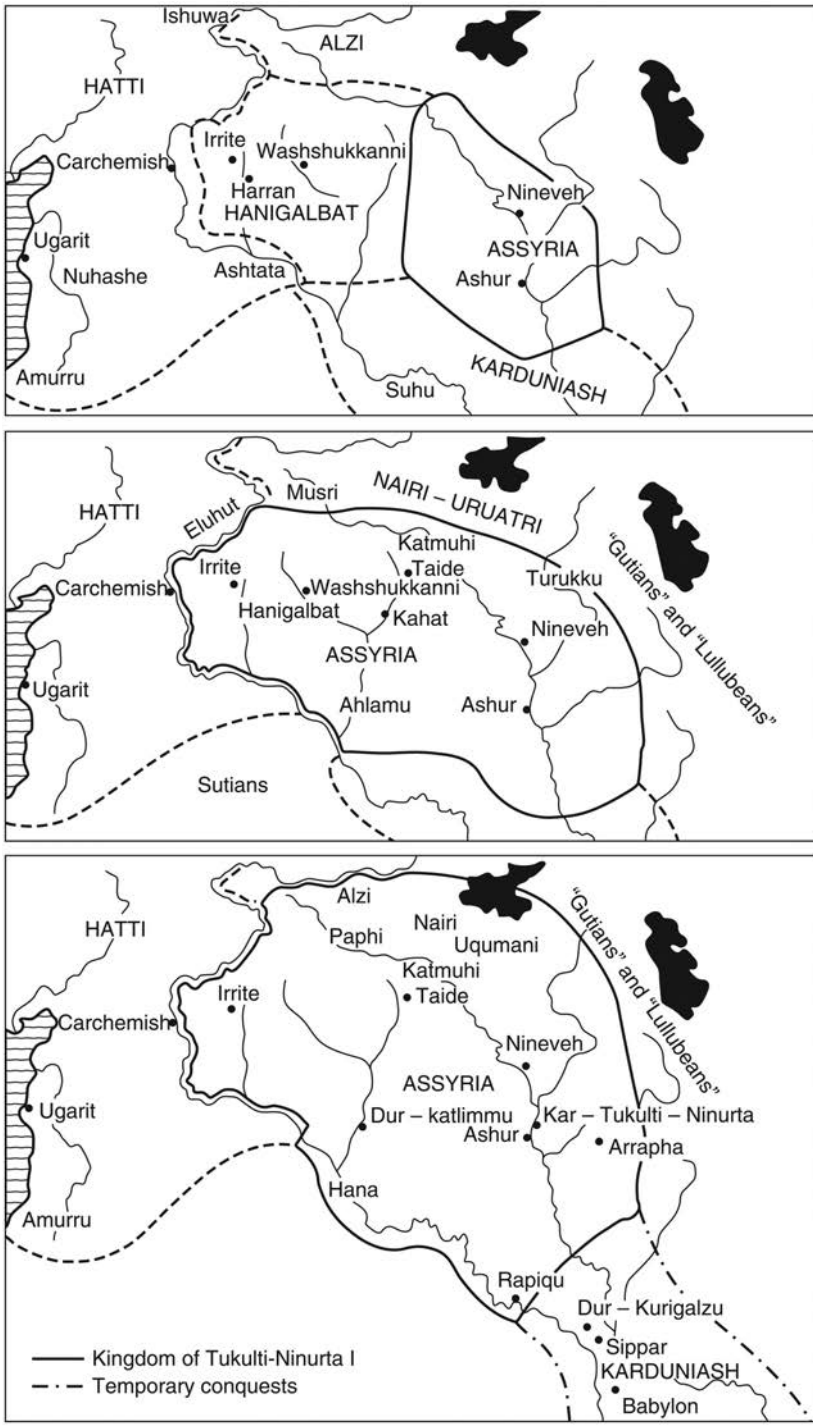


Figure 6.1 The Middle Assyrian Kingdom

Source: Mario Liverani, *The Ancient Near East: History, Society, and Economy*. New York: Routledge, 2014, fig. 20.1.

the Amarna archive to the collapse of the international system at the end of the thirteenth century.

Assyria first appears on the international scene in a modest letter to the Egyptian court.[17] Assur-uballit, the Assyrian king, announces that though his predecessors had never written to Egypt, he is now initiating a correspondence. The short letter mentions gifts that the Assyrian king is sending with the letter and includes a request that the Assyrian messenger be allowed to "see what you are like and what your country is like, and then leave for here." Seemingly benign, this letter is actually a prime example of diplomatic audacity. By presenting a greeting gift to the king of Egypt and trying to open an exchange of messengers between the two courts, the sender is attempting to break into the elite club of great powers. Even so, one still notices signs of restraint in the Assyrian king's letter: it does not use the language of brotherhood in addressing the Egyptian monarch, nor does it include a comment about the sender's own well-being (a common element in letters between equals.)[18] Ruffling Egyptian feathers would not have gotten Assur-uballit what he sought at this early stage in the game.

Though we do not possess the Egyptian response to this overture, a follow-up letter from Assur-uballit to the Egyptian court suggests that the Assyrian venture met with some success. This second letter opens with, "S[ay] to Naphuriya, [Great King], king of Egypt, my brother. Thus Assur-uballit, king of [Assy]ria, Great King, your brother."[19] The reticence that marks the first letter has disappeared, and the language of brotherhood is employed. The sender continues, "When I saw your [me]ssengers, I was very happy." Presumably, these Egyptian messengers journeyed to Assyria in response to the previous letter. Did they address the Assyrian monarch as a Great King and brother to the Pharaoh, as Ashur-uballit now styles himself? We cannot know.

We do know that they came bearing gifts because the king of Assyria complains that the gold brought him was not worthy of a Great King. "I am the [equal] of the king of Hani[galba]t," he writes, "but you sent me . . . of gold, and it is not enough [f]or the pay of my messengers on the journey to and back. If your purpose is graciously one of friendship, send me much gold." From this statement, it seems that the Egyptian response to Assyria's overture did not go so far as to treat the newcomer as an equal. Caution is necessary, however, as hyperbole and other forms of rhetorical maneuvering are not uncommon in such letters. By playing off expressions of both joy and disappointment in his letter, Assur-uballit continues to negotiate his diplomatic status vis-à-vis Egypt in the wake of promising initial results.

Not all the great powers were as willing to let Assyria into the game. Assur-uballit's venture provoked a particularly vehement reaction in the king of Babylonia. He writes to his Egyptian brother, "Now, as for my Assyrian vassals, I was not the one who sent them to you. Why on their own authority have they come to your country? If you love me, they will conduct no business whatsoever. Send them off

to me empty handed."[20] Babylonia was not alone in refusing Assyria admittance to the circle of brothers, as the following text from Hatti reveals.

The text is a Hittite draft of a letter intended for the king of Assyria. Though the beginning of the text is lost – and with it the names of the sender and the recipient – from internal evidence it is possible to deduce that the addressee is Adad-nirari I and the speaker is most likely Mursili III.[21] The letter seems to have been written in the wake of Assyria's defeat of Mitanni as a Hittite response to a lost letter from the king of Assyria. Irritated, the Hittite king replies:

> You continue to speak about [the defeat (?)] of Wasashatta [and the conquest] of the land of Hurri. You indeed conquered by force of arms. And you conquered . . ., and have become a Great King. But why do you still continue to speak about brotherhood and about seeing Mount Amanus? What is this, brotherhood? And what is this, seeing Mount Amanus? For what reason should I write to you about brotherhood? Who customarily writes to someone about brotherhood? Do those who are not on good terms customarily write to one another about brotherhood? On what account should I write to you about brotherhood? Were you and I born from one mother? As [my grandfather] and my father did not write to the King of Assyria [about brotherhood], you shall not keep writing to me [about brotherhood] and Great Kingship. [It is not my] wish.[22]

The passage is generally taken to reflect a distinction in the king's mind between Great Kingship and brotherhood. Thanks to Assyria's newly established military prowess, it could no longer be denied that Assyria was one of the great powers – but Mursili III was not about to recognize the Assyrian king as a brother on that basis.[23] Simple force of arms, Mursili maintains, is not what makes one a brother. Brotherhood is founded on a complex system of mutual recognition and interaction that Mursili is not about to extend to his neighbor.

Yet doesn't Mursili's denial that brotherhood can be gained by brute force reveal his anxiety that brute force is, in fact, brotherhood's ultimate foundation? The irritation expressed in the letter may reveal that Mursili knew his correspondent had a point, no matter how little he may have wanted to admit it. The fact that Mursili's own legitimacy as Hittite sovereign was not without challenges – he is better known, after all, by the name Urhi-Teshub, which the usurper Hattusili III used as a way to discredit the former ruler – may have contributed to the psychological tensions evident in the letter. Mursili knew all too well that royal legitimacy could not easily be divorced from the power that puts and keeps a king on the throne.[24]

Mursili III did not last long on that throne. His uncle Hattusili wanted to be king and set in motion a coup that would bring him the crown. With a new ruler

in Hattusa, policy regarding Assyria took a new turn. Upon acceding to the Hittite throne, Hattusili wrote to Adad-nirari I, king of Assyria:

> When I assumed kingship, you did not send a messenger to me. It is the custom that when kings assume kingship, the kings, his equals in rank, send him appropriate [gifts of greeting], clothing befitting kingship, and fine [oil] for his anointing. But you did not do this today.[25]

Though on the surface Hattusili's letter is a rebuke for Adad-nirari's behavior, it is in actuality an overture of friendship to Assyria. The rebuke itself implies that Hattusili desired Adad-nirari's attendance and so viewed the Assyrian king as his equal – a status no earlier extant Hittite document grants to Assyria. Likewise, by asking Adad-nirari whether the king of Babylonia had sent him appropriate greeting gifts, Hattusili flatters Assyria as the equal of a country whose king had called his great-grandfather a vassal three-quarters of a century earlier.[26]

Assyria continued to grow militarily powerful. With Shalmaneser's obliteration of Hanigalbat, the buffer state between Hatti and Assyria was removed. In the face of this threat, it is possible that Hattusili adopted a policy of reconciliation to ease tensions between the two powers.[27] In this context Hatti began addressing the king of Assyria as a brother. Numerous diplomatic letters between the two courts of this general period were found at Boğazköy.[28] Though many are quite fragmentary, the letters attest Hattusili and his son Tudhaliya addressing their Assyrian counterparts as "brother." In the face of Assyrian aggression, these Hittite sovereigns – knowing full well their weakened military state – turned to diplomatic overtures to protect their interests.

Despite such overtures, war did arise between Hatti and Assyria during Tudhaliya's reign. The battle of Nihriya was a disaster for the Hittites.[29] A letter found at Ugarit dates from the aftermath of this battle and provides a fitting final chapter to the story of Assyria's rise to brotherhood.[30] The letter has generally been interpreted as Tukulti-Ninurta's attempt to entice Ugarit away from its service to Hatti's king, portrayed in the letter in all his weakness.[31] The Assyrian king employs a set of sophisticated rhetorical techniques to perform this task, which are worthy of detailed attention for how they construe the meaning of political brotherhood.

The Assyrian monarch narrates his recent encounter with the Hittite king. According to this version of events, the armies of Hatti and Assyria were poised for battle when:

> Tudhaliya, the king of Hatti, sent me a second messenger carrying two tablets (proposing) war and one tablet (proposing) peace. He presented me with the two tablets of war. When my soldiers heard these messages of war they burned to march (into combat), and the messenger of the king of Hatti saw

> it. After three days had passed, the messenger of the king of Hatti presented me with the tablet of peace and on that tablet it was written: "(I swear) by the storm-god and by the sun-goddess that I am not at war with the king of Assyria, my brother, [but rather that] I am at peace. (I swear that) the fugitives . . . I will return to him and the soldiers of . . . who fled from before the king of Assyria and . . . and entered the land of Hatti, I . . . and I will return (them) to the king of Assyria . . . Why should we, who are brothers, be at war with each other?"

The letter continues to depict the Hittite ruler as engaging in other stalling tactics until a battle is finally fought and the Hittites are decisively defeated. Though the depiction of Hittite weakness is surely part of the letter's means of achieving its purpose, it cuts deeper by exposing the instrumental nature of brotherhood discourse and thereby eradicating the sacred aura that kinship terminology aimed to bestow on political relations.

The letter's intended audience is the king of Ugarit.[32] This is true of both the narrator's own words and those quoted as the words of Tudhaliya. Within the narrative frame, the Hittite king's statements are presented as aimed at the king of Assyria, but the letter's context imbues them with a sideward glance to the king of Ugarit.[33] We do not know if Tudhaliya ever sent this message; we do know that Tukulti-Ninurta wanted the king of Ugarit to think that he did. What message was Assyria sending Ugarit with this depiction of a Hittite messenger and his tablets of war and peace?

The Hittite messenger is said to have arrived in the Assyrian camp with two sets of contradictory tablets, one threatening war and the other suing for peace. As one eventually learns, though the messages are contradictory, their intentions are the same: to avoid war. First the messenger tries threatening to fight, but when in response he is confronted with an Assyrian army burning for battle, he quickly becomes aware that the "tablets of war" will not achieve their real aim. He turns to the "tablet of peace." But in the wake of the failure to prevent war by threatening it, the "tablet of peace," with its talk of peaceful relations between brothers, takes on a particular color. The Hittite appeal to brotherhood with Assyria appears as nothing more than a last-ditch effort to save one's skin.

Tudhaliya's cousin, Mursili III, had portrayed brotherhood as a sacrosanct bond and on that basis denied it to Tukulti-Ninurta's grandfather following the defeat of Wasashatta. Fittingly, the Assyrian king now pulls the rug out from under the king of Hatti's elevated speech. Whereas Mursili had claimed that force of arms did not qualify one for acceptance as a brother, Tukulti-Ninurta, in his message to the king of Ugarit, reveals that talk of brotherhood can be a veil hiding weakness. To paraphrase Thomas Hobbes, brotherhood without the sword is but words.[34]

If the linguistic shift in Anat's good news signals the transformation of Baal into a brother, then the route toward brotherhood Assyria took would have been

among the real-world experiences that an ancient Ugaritic audience could have used to process that narrative event. Familiar with such cases, they would have known what was really involved in becoming a brother. How might members of such an audience have synthesized their political knowledge with the events depicted in the poem? What implications for the political message of the poem might such associations have held?

A number of key moments in Baal's career belong to the god's rise to brotherhood. Most conspicuous are Baal's violent defeat of Yamm and the prolonged negotiations to secure El's acquiescence to a palace. Kingship is partly about legitimacy and partly about force of arms, but Baal arrives to fight Yamm possessing only the latter. His triumph is reminiscent of Adad-nirari's victory over Wasashatta. One might imagine Urhi-Teshub sending Baal a letter after the battle: "You conquered by force of arms; don't speak to me about brotherhood!"

The narrative following Yamm's defeat is broken, and so it is difficult to say anything certain about the battle's immediate aftermath. There are possible traces of the words *b'l ymlk* (Baal reigns), but this section requires so much reconstruction that interpretation often reflects more what the interpreter expects than what is actually on the tablet. Soon after the battle, however, Baal is found presiding over a feast. Presumably the event is meant to celebrate the storm-god's victory over Yamm. As Smith and Pitard have noted, however, this feast "shows one outstanding feature compared to other such scenes in ancient Near Eastern literature: Baal celebrates his victory apparently without his divine peers."[35] It seems that Baal has been left to celebrate alone.

How might we make sense of this plot element in light of the realities of Bronze Age political life? As both the exchange between the kings of Alashiya and Egypt (EA 34) and Hattusili's rebuke of Adad-nirari (*CTH* 173) discussed earlier show, failure to attend a banquet was a political insult. Such behavior suggested that the invitee did not recognize the host as an equal. By portraying Baal eating alone, the poet invokes these associations and implies that despite his feat of martial prowess Baal has not achieved recognition from his fellows. As his lament will soon make clear, the other gods do not consider Baal their equal. By repeating the feast topos following the construction of Baal's palace – this time with the gods, now called Baal's brothers, in attendance – the significance of the missing guests in the first account is made more emphatic. The two feast scenes act as bookends, marking the intervening narrative as decisive for explaining Baal's better success the second time he hosts a party. The defeat of Yamm alone was insufficient; Baal required the assent of El to gain acceptance as a brother.

The Baal Cycle presents Baal's quest for legitimacy in detail – and not through rose-colored glasses. In doing so, the poem grants its audience a vantage point for reflecting on what actually underlies political brotherhood. The family metaphor was useful in Bronze Age politics because it contributed a sense of order and hierarchy to international relations that might otherwise appear chaotic and anarchic.

The idea that the rulers of nations were kin provided a foundation for norms of behavior. Because brothers were expected to behave according to ancestral rules of conduct, international kinship implied that such rules governed the interactions among states. And the ancestral was understood as rooted in the sacred.[36]

As ideally conceived, international relations were grounded in kinship and supplemented by divinely backed law – hence the importance of international marriages and treaties witnessed by the gods. The rise of new "brothers" – not through law or marriage but through force and political machinations – introduced pressures on the system's self-representation. Assyria's rise cast doubts on the "eternal brotherhood" of the more established players. Rather than poetically obfuscate this chink in Bronze Age international ideology, the Baal Cycle makes brotherhood gained through cunning and violence the centerpiece of its political representation. By showing its audience how Baal became a brother, the play of power and persuasion involved in achieving political legitimacy is presented as if in a mirror.

***

The Baal Cycle depicts the process whereby Baal attains the status of insider in El's family. According to the norms of kinship, this new status comes with new obligations governing Baal's interactions with El and the other members of El's clan. As paterfamilias, El is supposed to ensure peaceful relations between the members of the clan – who by definition are friends, not enemies. The king of Hatti takes on this responsibility when he imposes a treaty stipulating that his vassals are bound to one another in brotherhood.[37] But what if the family members do not comply? The final third of the poem dramatizes Baal's struggles once he has gained official entry into the family of El. What does this section of the poem teach about kinship obligations in the realm of politics?

After settling in his new palace, Baal sends messengers to Mot, the god of death, inviting him to a feast. Mot replies antagonistically that he will break Baal into pieces and eat him. Baal acknowledges his fear of Mot and admits to being Mot's eternal vassal. After some further interchanges that are difficult to interpret because they are fragmentary, messengers arrive at El's abode informing him that Baal is dead. El descends from his throne, sits on the ground, and mourns. Anat, also in mourning, seeks out Baal's body and buries him on Mount Sapan. El declares that Baal be revived, and the storm-god returns to his throne. Mot complains that Baal has shamed him. The two gods fight in a climactic battle until El intervenes, commanding Mot to leave Baal be or else he will lose his own kingship. Afraid, Mot withdraws and announces: "Let Baal sit on [his] royal [throne]" (*KTU* 1.6 VI 33).

The very fact that the narrative continues beyond the point of Baal's enthronement in his palace is significant. If the poem is about the rise of Baal, as commentators have often claimed, why not end the story when the storm-god achieves

his purpose? Why isn't the theophany from the heights (*KTU* 1.4 VII 25–42) Ilimilku's final word on the patron deity of his city?

Such questions are especially important because interpreters of the poem have downplayed the significance of its third part. According to Frank Moore Cross, the Baal Cycle supposedly provides access to the Canaanite mythic background to what Cross calls the Israelite epic of the Divine Warrior. According to Cross, that epic told the story of the Divine Warrior, Yahweh, who "marched forth in wrath to win a crucial victory – at the sea, or in a variant tradition by cleaving through Sea – and then led a triumphal procession to his mountain, where he appeared in glory, constructed his sanctuary, and established his kingdom."[38] That this pattern preexisted Israel, Cross contends, "can be argued on the basis of the myth of the Divine Warrior from Ugarit" because both in Israel and at Ugarit,

> there are two, paired movements in the drama: (1) The Divine Warrior goes forth to battle against his enemy (Yamm [Sea], Leviathan, Môt [Death]). At his appearance, brandishing his weapons, nature convulses and the heavens languish. He conquers. (2) The victorious god returns to take up kingship and is enthroned on his holy mountain. He cries aloud (thunders) from his temple, and nature responds to his fructifying appearance in the storm. His guests feast at his sanctuary and kingship is established or confirmed in heaven and earth.[39]

Note how this synopsis ignores the final third of the Ugaritic poem. Cross makes the Baal Cycle fit the trajectory of combat leading to enthronement by collapsing the figures of Yamm and Mot. This is evident from the list of enemies that Cross provides in his description of the first movement of the proposed mythic drama. By including Mot in this list, Cross implies that Baal's battle with Mot belongs to the drama's first part. Yet the combat with Mot *follows* the construction of Baal's palace, the storm-god's thunderous cry, and the celebratory feast. A more accurate outline of the Baal Cycle's "drama" would require a third movement, which would correspond to the struggles between Baal and Mot in the poem's two final tablets (*KTU* 1.5 and 1.6).[40]

As Gregorio del Olmo Lete has noted, the battle with Mot in some sense repeats the battle with Yamm.[41] The third part of the poem echoes its first part. Why did Ilimilku chose to include a protracted conflict narrative as the conclusion to his version of the story?[42] How are we to make sense of this repetition?

Rather than downplay the differences between the Yamm and Mot episodes, it is necessary to consider what distinguishes Baal's early struggles from those he faces at the end of the narrative. Though in the third part of the poem Baal faces a challenge similar to the one that he faced in the first part, the battle plays out differently the second time around. Whereas Baal physically overcomes Yamm, the combat with Mot ends when El intervenes through the sun-goddess Shapsh. This

difference is tied to the change in status that Baal achieves in the middle portion of the poem. By following Baal's attainment of a palace with an episode that echoes the storm-god's earlier struggles with Yamm, the poem provokes the question of how Baal fares differently once El has accepted him into his family. Repetition renders this difference in deeper relief.

Among the features that tie the first and third parts of the poem together is the fact that, as mentioned in the introduction, both Yamm and Mot are designated as "beloved of El" (*mdd 'il*; *ydd 'il*).[43] A special relationship with El characterizes both of Baal's enemies. The phrase "beloved of El" should not be taken as reflecting an emotional fondness on El's part. Love here denotes a kinship relation.[44] By fighting Yamm and Mot, Baal fights two members of the kin group in which El operates as paterfamilias.[45] The poem's structure can therefore be rendered as follows: (1) Baal struggles with one of El's kinsmen, (2) Baal persuades El to accept him into the kin group, and (3) Baal struggles with another of El's kinsmen. The questions of interest in the third part of the poem can therefore be rendered more precisely as follows: How does El act differently with respect to Mot than he had with respect to Yamm? What underlies this change? And what, ultimately, are the implications of this altered attitude for the poem's political message?

As discussed in the previous chapter, El is initially presented as a supporter of Yamm and an opponent of Baal. In the concluding sections of the poem, El takes Baal's side against Mot, restoring Baal from death and threatening Mot's own kingship if he persists in fighting Baal. Why?

The first tablet contains remnants of a ceremony wherein El enthrones Yamm, tasks him with attacking Baal, and calls the sea-god "my son" (*KTU* 1.1 IV 13). El later orders Kothar to build Yamm a palace and, when confronted with Yamm's demands in the "envoy scene," sides with the sea-god against Baal. In sum, and given the way kinship and political relations were intertwined in the Bronze Age, El's support for Yamm resembles that of a paterfamilias supporting his younger clansman. As Shapsh explains at *KTU* 1.2 III 16, El is one who will take vengeance (*yṯ'ir*) on behalf of Yamm – where the verb connotes a kinship responsibility.[46] Baal, as an outsider to El's kinship group, enjoys no such support. The storm-god may be able to defeat Yamm in battle, but he does not enjoy El's favor.

Things are different in the final third of the poem. The conflict with El's second "beloved" gets started just as Baal takes up residence in his house. The precise grounds for the conflict remain elusive, though several factors seem to be involved. First, the two gods seem to have pretentions of wielding authority over the other. The message that Baal sends to Mot declaring that he "alone reigns over the gods" (*'aḫdy . dymlk . 'l . 'ilm*) is later inverted when Baal submits to Mot as his "eternal vassal" (*'bdk . 'an wd'lmk*).[47] Mot also seems to be reacting to a slight at not having been invited to the banquet that Baal hosts upon opening his new palace. Mot's antagonism toward Baal appears to stem from a desire to avenge the defeat of his kinsman Yamm.

Mot is not among the gods who attend Baal's celebratory banquet. Yet the storm-god sends messengers to the underworld soon afterward announcing his new palace (*KTU* 1.4 VIII 35–37). In response to Baal's message, the god of death replies (*KTU* 1.5 I 22–26 and parallels):

> S[o] invite me, Baal, (to join) with my brothers,
> Call me, Haddu, with my kinsmen,
> To eat food with my brothers,
> And drink wine with my kins[men].
> For have you forgotten, Baal, I can pierce you through?

Whereas the other gods, Mot's brothers, had been invited to dine at Baal's banquet, Mot was left out. The god of death responds to the slight by calling for an invitation. Mot's message resembles a letter discovered at Amarna that Kadashman-Enlil of Babylonia sent to his counterpart, the king of Egypt (EA 3:18–29):

> When you celebrated a great festival, you did not send your messenger to me, saying, "Come t[o eat an]d drink." No[r did you send me] my greeting-gift in connection with the festival . . . I have built a [ne]w [house] . . . [No]w I am going to hav[e] a house-opening. Come [yourself] to [eat an]d drink with me. [I shall not act a]s you yourself did.[48]

Like Mot, Kadashman-Enlil was slighted by not being invited to one of his brothers' feasts. But whereas the king of Babylon responds to the slight with a counterinvitation meant to assert his position in this diplomatic game, Mot appends a threat (*KTU* 1.5 I 6–8): "You must descend the throat of Mot, son of El/the gullet of the beloved of El, Hero." However, because Mot is imagined as a tremendous stomach, to be devoured by Mot is to be invited to a "banquet" at Mot's – and so in this sense, Mot, too, responds with a counterinvitation, albeit a particularly hostile one.

The context of Mot's threat clarifies the basis of his hostility toward Baal. It is not only pride but also a clansman's loyalty that appears to motivate Mot's enmity (*KTU* 1.5 I 1–6 // 1.5 I 27–33):

> When you smote Lotan, the fleeing serpent,
> Destroyed the twisting serpent,
> The ruler with seven heads,
> The heavens grew hot and withered.
> I myself will tear you to pieces,
> Devour flanks, guts, limbs.
> You must descend the throat of Mot, son of El,
> The gullet of the beloved of El, Hero.

Mot desires to devour Baal because Baal smote Lotan – a figure who is here either equated with Yamm or presented as one of his associates.[49] Either way, Mot's statement likely refers to the conflict of the poem's first part. Mot, it seems, wants to avenge Baal's treatment of Yamm.

Mot's desire is not only understandable, it is to be expected. As a member of El's clan, and so a kinsman of Yamm, Mot has a responsibility to oppose Baal in this way. The only problem is that Baal is now also a kinsman. Mot's brothers, the other gods, accepted Baal into their fraternity by attending his second banquet. Mot is an outlier in this respect. By persisting with hostilities against Baal, the god of death appears to reject the decision of the paterfamilias to grant the storm-god the status of a brother.

Mot is initially successful in his opposition to Baal. The poet tells us that the storm-god was frightened by Mot's threat (*KTU* 1.5 II 6–7). Baal responds with a message in which he declares himself Mot's vassal, an act of self-abasement that leads to Baal's descent into the underworld. This narrative sequence repeats a theme of the poem's first part, but inverted. Whereas Baal had earlier rejected the injunction that he submit to Yamm as a vassal – lashing out violently when El affirms Yamm's claim – now he enters into vassalage of his own accord. This time, however, El is not complicit in Baal's subjugation. Rather, the father of the gods shows himself a supporter of Baal in the final third of the poem. El grieves at Baal's death, rejoices at his return, and, at the end of the poem, intercedes to defend Baal's rights as a king against Mot's persistent enmity.

El's new congeniality toward Baal is most apparent in the acts of mourning that he performs upon hearing of the storm-god's death (*KTU* 1.5 VI 12–22):

> He descends from his throne, sits on the footstool
> From the footstool, sits on the earth.
> He pours dirt of mourning on his head,
> Dust of lamentation on his crown,
> For clothing he wears sackcloth.
> With stone he doubly scrapes his skin,
> With a blade, cuts cheeks and chin.
> Furrows his arms,
> Plows his chest – like a garden.
> Like a valley, he furrows (his) back.

Surprised by the reversal of attitude toward Baal that these acts represent, del Olmo has been led to ask whether El's mourning for Baal is sincere.[50] Baal's integration into El's kinship group provides the basis for an affirmative answer to del Olmo's question. The elaborate mourning rituals are not simply the result of affection for Baal. They are marked indicators that El recognizes Baal as kin.[51]

A passage from the Hebrew Bible helps clarify the significance of mourning rituals in a society organized around kinship bonds. As the civil war between David and his son Absalom concludes, David learns of the rebel's death (2 Samuel 19:1):

> And the king was shaken. And he went up to the room above the gateway and wept, and as he went he said, "My son, Absalom! My son, my son, Absalom! If only I had died in your stead! Absalom, my son, my son!"

The story is built on a paradox. As David's son, Absalom is an insider to David's kinship group. But as David's enemy, he is an outsider. To mourn for one's son is appropriate; to mourn for one's enemy, a perversion. Focusing solely on the latter, Joab rebukes the king (2 Samuel 19:6–7):

> Today you have shamed all your servants who have saved your life today and the lives of your sons and your daughters and the lives of your wives and the lives of your concubines, by showing love to those who hate you and hate to those who love you.

Joab accuses David of disregarding a clansman's duty to love one's friends and hate one's enemies; by weeping over the enemy, David is corrupting the foundations of justice that hold kin-based households together. But Absalom belongs, after all, in the group of "your sons and your daughters" that Joab has accused David of shaming.[52] The real perversion is not in David's grieving but in what has become of his household. The biblical passage reveals kinship ethics in a state of turmoil. In its own way, so, too, does the Baal Cycle.

At the start of the poem's third part it appears that only Mot refuses to welcome Baal as a brother. The other gods attend Baal's feast. As the narrative progresses, however, the old divisions reemerge. Upon Baal's death, Anat sarcastically remarks (*KTU* 1.6 I 39–43):

> Now let Athirat and her sons rejoice,
> The goddess and the host of her kin.
> For mighty Baal is dead,
> Perished the prince, lord of the earth.

The goddess who had been at Baal's side from the start suggests that his new kinsmen have not truly accepted the storm-god into their clan. They should be mourning the death of their kinsman; instead they rejoice (*šmḫ*). Their joy is short-lived, however. Through a combination of Anat's violent trouncing of Mot and El's intervention through Shapsh on Baal's behalf, the storm-god returns to life. His first act is to take revenge on those who had become his brothers

(*KTU* 1.6 V 1–2): "Baal seizes the sons of Athirat/many he smites with a sword." Baal sends his brothers down to their brother Mot.

Mot responds (*KTU* 1.6 VI 14–16): "My own brothers, O Baal, you have given me to devour/My mother's sons to consume." Earlier Mot opposed Baal out of a sense of responsibility to avenge his one kinsman Yamm; now Baal has given the god of death multiple causes for revenge. The conflict culminates in a fierce showdown (*KTU* 1.6 VI 16–22):

> They eye each other like warriors,
> Mot is strong, Baal is strong.
> They gore each other like wild bulls,
> Mot is strong, Baal is strong.
> They bite each other like snakes,
> Mot is strong, Baal is strong.
> They trample each other like runners,
> Mot falls, Baal falls.

The two evenly matched fighters fight until Shapsh intercedes. Upon El's orders, the sun-goddess arrives with a message for the god of death (*KTU* 1.6 VI 23–29):

> Please hear, Divine Mot:
> How can you fi[gh]t with Mightiest Baal?
> How would Bull El, your father, then hea[r] you?
> He will surely withdraw the support of your seat,
> He will surely overturn your royal throne,
> He will surely shatter the scepter of your reign.

If Mot keeps up his antagonism toward Baal, Shapsh declares, El will revoke the god's right to rule. Mot must recognize Baal's kingship or risk losing his own. Frightened by Shapsh's threat, Mot gives in.[53] He acquiesces to Baal's ambitions and announces (*KTU* 1.6 VI 33–35): "Let Baal take his place on [his] royal [throne], on [the resting-place], the seat of his dominion." He who had been recalcitrant to accept Baal as his fellow has been brought to heel.

The sun-goddess's very words signal that this battle differs from the one against Yamm. They do so because they echo a speech that the sun-goddess already gave in tablet two. There Shapsh declares (*KTU* 1.2 III 17–18):

> How would he then hea[r] you,
> Bull El, your father?
> He will surely withdraw the support of your seat,
> He will surely overturn your royal throne,
> He will surely shatter the scepter of your reign.

These are exactly the same words that the sun-goddess used with Mot. But whereas at the end of the poem they are spoken as a warning *against* Baal's enemy, here (*KTU* 1.2 III 17–18) they signify El's *favor for* Baal's enemy Yamm. Shapsh is warning her interlocutor against opposing the sea-god, and so the episode belongs among those passages of the poem's first third that attest El's support for Baal's opponent. Once again, repetition in the poem's third part signals that a fundamental shift has taken place since the events of the first two tablets.

Though El's changed attitude toward Baal is good news for the storm-god, it is unsettling when considered from a broader perspective. That El mourns Baal's death and rejoices in his revival is one thing; but that the paterfamilias persists in supporting Baal even after the storm-god has slaughtered Athirat's children is something quite different. El's behavior is strange – and I want to suggest that it is meant to appear strange and discomforting. If, as argued in the previous chapter, the first part of the poem reveals the foundation of political hierarchy to be unstable, the poem's final part renders kinship norms equally uncertain.

***

If there is a historical parallel that most resembles El's relationship with Baal, it is not Hatti's relationship with Ugarit but with Ugarit's southern neighbor Amurru.[54] Sources from the fourteenth century suggest that Amurru was an upstart polity, first under the leadership of a local strongman named Abdi-Ashirta and then consolidated under the rule of Abdi-Ashirta's son Aziru.[55]

Not unlike the Babylonian king complaining about Assyrian ambitions, the well-established king of Byblos, Rib-Hadda, expresses his disdain for the upstart Amurru in a letter to his Egyptian suzerain: "Who are they, the sons of Abdi-Ashirta, that they have [t]aken the land of the king for themselves? The king of Mitanni? The king of Kashu? The king of Hatti?"[56] The kings of Qatna and Tyre similarly attack Aziru in their letters to the pharaoh.[57] Like the Great Kings discussed earlier, the kings of these established Levantine cities considered each other brothers.[58] A stele discovered at Ugarit likely commemorates a treaty that reiterated such parity (Figure 6.2).[59] Amurru was not originally a member of this fraternity, and the old-timers were not inclined to make room for the newcomer simply because Aziru had succeeded in acquiring significant military power.

The Hittites also claimed a prerogative in determining brotherly status. Though the fraternity of small states existed independently of shifting imperial control of the region – as indicated by the fact that letters between Levantine brothers regularly traversed Hittite and Egyptian zones of influence – that does not mean that the great powers kept out of the international relations of their vassals. Hatti, in particular, appears to have taken an activist approach – both in attempting to restrict the diplomatic relations of its vassals with enemy states and in encouraging diplomatic relations between those kings subject to the Hittite empire.[60]

Figure 6.2 Treaty stele from Ugarit (RS 7.116)
Source: Photo courtesy of Alamy.

When Aziru defected from the Egyptians to the Hittites, his new sovereign declared him to be a brother to those who previously taunted him. "Because Aziru [knelt down] at the feet [of My Majesty, and] came from the gate of Egyptian territory and knelt [down at the feet of my Majesty]," Suppiluliuma I declares in his treaty with Aziru, "I, My Majesty, Great King, [took up] Aziru and ranked him among his brothers."[61] The Hittite sovereign rewarded Amurru – a regional

powerhouse without traditional standing – with the status of "brother" to cities like Ugarit with age-old royal dynasties.[62] What did it say about kinship if brothers could be made by imperial fiat?

Hatti did not restrict its role as "brother-maker" to newcomers only. Rather, from the perspective of Hattusa all brotherhood in the realm was the prerogative of the king – regardless of independent local tradition. In the Akkadian treaty between Mursili II of Hatti and Niqmepa of Ugarit, the suzerain declares:

> Thus says My Majesty, [Great King], King of Hatti: I [. . . with] your brothers, Niqmepa, and I, the king, placed you upon the throne of your father and returned the land of your father to you. You, Niqmepa, together with your land, are my subject.[63]

Read in light of Suppiluliuma's treaty with Aziru, Mursili's statement suggests that the Hittite sovereign here claims responsibility for Niqmepa's relationship of brotherhood with his fellow petty kings.[64]

It makes no difference that Niqmepa's ancestors had been interacting as brothers with their counterparts in the region long before the Hittites arrived. Under the pressure of Hittite power, an old tradition becomes an instrument of imperial rule. How are traditions of kinship experienced in such a situation? Is being a brother really nothing more than enjoying the favor of a more powerful king? What keeps the sovereign from changing his mind? El's shifting allegiance in the Baal Cycle reminds one that sovereigns can be fickle. *Il Dio è mobile*.

Bronze Age politics rested on the idea that the relations between polities could be conceived as kinship relations. To be kindred, anthropologist Marshall Sahlins has recently argued, is to share in "'mutuality of being': kinfolk are persons who participate intrinsically in each other's existence; they are members of one another."[65]

Importantly, kinship should not be understood as rooted in biology and then extended metaphorically to nonblood relatives. Kinship is always cultural. "In this view," Sahlins writes, "the work of language and culture is to delimit and differentiate the human disposition for transpersonal being into determinate kinship relations by specific criteria of mutual being: having the same name, eating from the same land, born from the same woman, and so on."[66] When a kinship system is functioning properly, this work of language and culture is barely perceptible. In this ideal situation, all members of the kin group experience agency as a function of the collective.[67] In principle, this is a situation of unconditional amity.

Hatti's blatant instrumentalization of local kinship traditions likely helped to expose the lurking contradictions in the system. Ilimilku's poem puts those contradictions front and center. The family language that Bronze Age politics employed was designed to instill a sense of enduring values and responsibilities governing all members. By calling into question the reliability of kin to fulfill

their traditional duties, the Baal Cycle provides a critical perspective on this kin-based politics.

Won over by Baal's physical prowess and gifts, El reveals that he cannot be relied on to uphold the traditional kinship norms. Which is to say kinship norms are not reliable. If nothing compels El to take vengeance for Baal's treatment of Yamm, what good is there in being a member of the kinship group? That Baal has become a brother is ultimately no solution to the storm-god's political problems. Baal's fortunes may look bright at the end of the poem, but they turn out to lack any grounding beyond his own ability to ensure that they will remain so. Baal could lose El's favor just as he gained it. And yet that favor seems to remain necessary. That Ilimilku continues Baal's story beyond the point of his enthronement implies an understanding of politics in which struggle is everlasting. There is no telos of peace and joy. In politics, the play of power and perception can be fickle.

Notes

1 *KTU* 1.3 IV 47–48 // 1.3 V 38–39 // 1.4 I 9–11 // 1.4 IV 50–51. The formula is also attested in *KTU* 1.8:3–5 (now attached to *KTU* 1.3 VI) and in El's permission to build the house at 1.4 V 62. For a detailed treatment of Baal's lament, see *UBC* 2, 304–13; cf. Tropper 2003.
2 *UBC* 2, 572.
3 *UBC* 2, 310.
4 See *UBC* 1, 91–93 and M. S. Smith 2001a: 63–5; cf. Walls 1992: 86–94 and Dennis Pardee in *COS* 1.86: 245, n. 32, and 263, n. 190.
5 Dennis Pardee (*COS* 1.86: 260, n. 163) suggests the possibility of such a transformation when, in reference to Anat's announcement, he asks, "Has Ba'lu been promoted to equality with the sons of 'Aṯiratu, i.e., the terms are honorific, or has his rightful place been recognized?" It remains to be seen how the poem considers Baal's place to be "rightful." Noga Ayali-Darshan's (2013) historical account of Baal's double paternity is intriguing, but it does not bear on the semantic purpose to which that double paternity has been put in Ilimilku's poem.
6 Liverani 2001: 197–202; Bryce 2003: 76–94; and Van De Mieroop 2007: 100–32. For a discussion of the comparable political discourse of brotherhood in the Mari archive, see Lafont 2001: 232–8.
7 But not only kings. Baal's banquet is reminiscent of the tradition of sharing a meal upon concluding the sale of land – that is, when a new landowner joined the community – at Emar, a town located along the Euphrates river inland from Ugarit (Beckman 1997). The heads of household at Emar were routinely conceived of as "brothers," and so the shared meal marked one's entry into a civic fraternity (Beckman 1996b: 12; cf. Démare-Lafont 2012). As Sophie Démare-Lafont (2008: 209) has commented, by sharing a meal with the elders of the town, "the new owner would enter the group of local leading families with all the civic consequences this implies." That these consequences were significant comes to the fore in cases where insiders actually take on themselves the legal status of outsiders. Gary Beckman (1996a: 60) has noted, "Some purchasers are explicitly said to act 'as an outsider' (*kīma nakari*), which suggests that they were in actuality kinsmen seeking to make it perfectly clear through such language that the transaction in question was *not* subject to later revision according to conceptions of familial solidarity." Being an insider meant being able to rely on a robust system that made every member responsible for every other; conversely, it placed significant obligations on the individual that one might prefer to forego.

8 EA 3:23–28.
9 See, e.g., EA 29:32, where the king of Mitanni writes to the king of Egypt: "Just as when one sees [his] pee[r] (i.e., fellow Great King), he shows him respect, so Nimmureya (the king of Egypt) showed respect to [my messengers as p]eers and as [f]rie[nds]." For a discussion between kings about the distances separating their countries and the challenges this causes with respect to sending proper greetings, see EA 7. For the gods such travel is no problem, though they sometimes remark on the long distances; see, e.g., *KTU* 1.3 IV 34–35.
10 The succession occurred at Amenhotep III's death, and there was no chronologically or historically significant phase of coregency between them (Baines 1998: 272).
11 Cyril Aldred (1970) has argued that Egyptian tomb paintings depicting foreign envoys bearing gifts for the pharaoh refer to the ceremony following the accession of a new ruler. In the ceremony, the pharaoh's sovereignty was recognized by delegates from those foreign nations with which Egypt enjoyed diplomatic correspondence (cf. Bleiberg 1984: 163). Because these paintings were intended for domestic consumption, the ambiguity in how the gifts are depicted – i.e., whether they are the tribute of a subordinate or gifts from one of the pharaoh's equals – should come as no surprise. A similar problem is reflected in a Babylonian complaint quoted back to the king of Babylonia by the pharaoh in EA 1. Speaking of the gifts he had sent to Egypt, Kadashman-Enlil grumbled, "He put my chariots among the chariots of the mayors. You did not review them separately. You humiliated them before the country where you are. You did not review (them) separately."
12 For example, in EA 27:74–78 Tushratta, king of Mitanni, quotes Amenhotep IV as having said, "Just as you [always showed love] to my father, so show love to me."
13 *CTH* 172; Beckman 1999: no. 23; cf. the language of "eternity" used in the treaty that established brotherhood between Egypt and Hatti (*CTH* 91; Beckman 1999: no. 15).
14 The political motivations behind Hattusili's letter are complex and surely warrant a certain amount of skepticism of his claims about the past. This does not, however, undermine the principle of "inheritable brotherhood" that he expresses – it only calls for us to be suspicious of why he is invoking that principle here and now.
15 *CTH* 105; Beckman 1999: no. 17.
16 See the literature cited in Steiner 1989. Singer (2011: 226, n.60) holds a minority position, arguing, "The Mycenean power was erased because of its distance from the theatre of events and the improbability of its direct involvement in the political and military developments of Syria."
17 EA 15. See Artzi 1978.
18 For the etiquette of epistolary components, see Mynářová 2007.
19 EA 16:1–4. Moran (1992) considers the name of the addressee uncertain and so leaves a lacuna. Knudtzon (1915: 1.126) understood the recipient to be Amenhotep IV, reading ^{m}*n*[*a-a*]*p-ḫu-*[*r*]*i-i-*. Liverani (1999: 2.363) and Rainey (2015: 1.130–1) follow Knudtzon's reading.
20 EA 9:31–35. Scholars are divided on whether the addressee is Amenhotep IV or Tutankhamun. For discussion of this, see Kühne 1973: 72–5; Moran 1992: xxxviii, n. 137; and Miller 2007. On the relationship between Babylonia and Assyria at this time, see Giorgieri 2006: 300–6.
21 For the reasoning behind these designations, see Beckman 1999: 146. For an overview of the relations between Hatti and Assyria in the Late Bronze Age, see Giorgieri 2011.
22 *CTH* 171; Beckman 1999: no. 24A.
23 Beckman 1999: 146–7; Bryce 2003: 83. A new translation by Harry A. Hoffner, Jr., however, suggests a slight change in nuance whose implications are worth considering. Rather than translating Mursili's statement about Great Kingship as an acknowledgment of fact, Hoffner renders this crucial line as a sarcastic question: "So you've become a 'Great King,' have you?" (Hoffner 2009: 323). This would make the claim to Great Kingship part of the Assyrian pretention the Hittite king perceives. If read

as sarcasm, the phrase would not necessitate a conceptual distinction between Great Kingship (which the Hittite sovereign recognizes in Assyria, albeit grudgingly) and brotherhood (which continues to be denied the Assyrian king). Rather, at this point in Hittite–Assyrian relations, it would seem, the Hittite king is simply not willing to admit that Assyrian "force of arms" entitles the Assyrian king to a status equal to his own, be it called "Great Kingship" or "brotherhood." The passage ends with the author stating explicitly that he does not want to hear his Assyrian correspondent speak about Great Kingship anymore, suggesting that this status too – and not just brotherhood – is being denied to the Assyrian monarch.

24 Though Mursili III had a right to the throne according to the principles laid down by Telipinu (*CTH* 19: §28; *COS* 1.76:196–97), this did not stop at least one of his vassals from denying him support (Bryce 2003: 252). The situation becomes more complex in light of seals belonging to Urhi-Teshub as *tuhkanti* (crown prince) that establish that he was installed and recognized as his father's heir presumptive while the latter was still alive. As Hawkins (2001) points out, this evidence contradicts Hattusili's account of the succession as having resulted from his own initiative to crown his nephew (cf. *CTH* 81: §10a, iii 40–44; *COS* 1.77:202). The source of Urhi-Teshub's legitimacy as king was clearly a contestable issue.

25 *CTH* 173; Beckman 1999: no. 24B.

26 EA 9, quoted earlier.

27 Collins 2008: 61; cf. Freu 2003.

28 Mora and Giorgieri 2004. See also the catalogues in Harrak 1998 and Freu 2007.

29 Singer 2011: 353–73; cf. Dietrich 2003 and Freu 2007.

30 RS 34.165 (*RSO* VII 46).

31 Lackenbacher in *RSO* VII, pp. 99–100; cf. Singer 2011: 360 and Zaccagnini 1990: 41–2.

32 Though the name of the addressee is missing, it is generally accepted that the letter was intended for the king of Ugarit. One possible, though less likely, alternative is that the letter was intended for the king of Egypt and was intercepted on its way. See Lackenbacher in *RSO* VII, p. 95.

33 Cf. Bakhtin 1984: 195–6: "In a hidden polemic the author's discourse is directed toward its own referential object, as in any other discourse, but at the same time every statement about the object is constructed in such a way that, apart from its referential meaning, a polemical blow is struck at the other's discourse on the same theme, at the other's statement about the same object . . . The other's discourse is not itself reproduced, it is merely implied, but the entire structure of speech would be completely different if there were not this reaction to another person's implied words . . . Such discourse cannot be fundamentally or fully understood if one takes into consideration only its direct referential meaning." The situation of the letter under consideration is slightly more complicated even than the model Bakhtin describes in that Tudhaliya's double-voiced discourse – with Tukulti-Ninurta as its explicit addressee and the king of Ugarit as its implicit addressee – itself was constructed by Tukulti-Ninurta.

34 Cf. Hobbes 1991: 117: "Covenants, without the sword, are but words."

35 *UBC* 2, 102. For a thorough study of feasts in the Baal Cycle, see Belnap 2007: 61–151.

36 On the relationship between the ancestral and the sacred at Ugarit, see, for example, Aqhat's prayer (*KTU* 1.17 I 15–33). Cf. Strauss 1959: 29.

37 In Suppiluliuma I's treaty with Shattiwaza of Mitanni, the Hittite suzerain enforces a brotherhood relationship between Shattiwaza and Piyassili of Carchemish. The treaty stipulates that "Shattiwaza shall not plan any evil against Piyassili, his brother, and he may not cause another man to undertake evil against Piyassili" (*CTH* 51; Beckman 1999: no. 6A). See also Mursili II's treaties with Hapalla, Mira-Kuwaliya, and the Land of the Seha River (*CTH* 67–69; Beckman 1999: nos. 10–12).

38 Cross 1998: 22.

39 Cross 1998: 39; cf. Cross 1973: 91–111.

40 This is not to say that Cross is wrong in his identification of a standard narrative structure. For example, a royal inscription of Ashurnasirpal II (*RIMA* 0.101.30) speaks of the Assyrian king's conquests, then describes the building of a palace, and concludes with a great feast.
41 del Olmo Lete 1995: 106.
42 It may be significant that whereas the conflict between the storm-god and the sea is well attested throughout the region, the storm-god's conflict with death appears to be a novelty in this poem.
43 Yamm is referred to as *mdd 'il* at *KTU* 1.1 IV 20; 1.3 III 38–39; 1.4 II 34, VI 12, and VII 3–4. Mot receives the same epithet in *KTU* 1.4 VIII 23–24, though more often he is called *ydd 'il*, as in *KTU* 1.4 VII 46–47, VIII 31–32; 1.5 I 8, II 9; 1.6 VI 30–31; cf. 1.5 III 10, 19.
44 Cross 1998: 11; cf. Moran 1963.
45 For indications that Yamm is El's "son" see *KTU* 1.1 IV 14; cf. *KTU* 1.2 I 16. Similarly, Mot is called "El's son" (*bn . 'ilm*) at *KTU* 1.4 VII 45–46, 1.4 VIII 16, 30, 1.5 I 7, 12–13, 1.5 II 8, 11, 14, 19, 20, 1.6 II 25, 31, 1.6 V 9 (partially restored), 1.6 VI 9, 24, and 30; El is called Mot's "father" at *KTU* 1.6 VI 27.
46 On *yṯ'ir*, see *UBC* 1, 250–51. I would like to thank Eva von Dassow for alerting me to the kinship connotations built into this verb.
47 *KTU* 1.4 VII 49–50 and *KTU* 1.5 II 19–20.
48 Liverani 2000: 18–19 and 238. As Liverani notes, a similar Egyptian protest is hinted at in EA 34 (from Alashiya).
49 Scholars are in general agreement that Lotan belonged to a class of mythological figures associated with the sea. The relationship between Lotan and Yamm in the Baal Cycle is complicated, not least because the poem appears to use these traditions in not entirely consistent ways. Smith and Pitard (*UBC* 2, 258) have nevertheless made a strong, if tentative, case that Lotan and Yamm refer to the same deity in the poem. For further discussion of this figure, see Caquot 1992 and Uehlinger 1999. The reptilian figure seems even to have been mythopoeically interchangeable with the sea itself (*UBC* 2, 255–57, with references); for a well-known iconographic example, see cylinder seal BM 89589, which depicts Tiamat in the form of a serpent (reproduced in Collon 2000: no. 850; cf. Cornelius 1994: 212–24).
50 del Olmo Lete 1995: 109.
51 On the social significance of mortuary rituals at Ugarit, based on the archaeological evidence, see Salles 1995 and Niehr 2007; cf. the idealized picture of the son who tends to his father's tomb in the Aqhat Epic (*KTU* 1.17 I 44–46). See the discussions in Dietrich, Loretz, and Mayer 1989; Lewis 1989: 53–71; and Niehr 2016. On the relationship between ritual practices related to death and kinship structures in Syria more generally, see Finkelstein 1966 and Charpin and Durand 1986. The complex relationship between rituals of mourning, tribal bonds, and diplomatic alliances comes to the fore in documents from Mari relating to a royal funeral at Yamhad, for which see Durand 2008: 608.
52 Robert Alter (1999: 312) misses the irony in Joab's accusation when he comments, "Joab uses rhetorical exaggeration in order to elevate David's paternal attachment to Absalom into a generalized, perverse political principle: if you show such extravagant fondness for the usurper who sought your life, then you are behaving as though all your enemies were your friends and your friends your enemies." Alter does recognize, however, an important component of Joab's speech. "Again and again here," Alter comments, "Joab insists on the word 'today.' It is this very moment, he suggests, this crucial turning point, that you must seize in order to reestablish your reign. You cannot allow yourself to think of the past, of your history as Absalom's father: as king, you must confront *today*, with its challenge and its political responsibilities." But kinship institutions, with their emphasis on worshipful respect for ancestors, are fundamentally about the past. In attempting to turn David away from Absalom, Joab is trying to render inoperative the responsibilities that kinship dictates – which is what gives

his seemingly traditional comment about the need to love one's friends and hate one's enemies its brutal edge. If politics is about today, as Joab maintains, then at its core politics is in tension with the pious norms that undergird kinship relations.

53 The language describing Mot's fear echoes the statement that had previously announced Baal's fear of Mot. Compare *yr'a'un . 'al'iyn . b'l / ṯt' . nn . rkb . 'rpt* (Mightiest Baal is afraid / The rider of the clouds is scared) at *KTU* 1.5 II 6–7 to *yr'u . bn'ilm. m>t . ṯt' .y/ dd . 'il . ǵzr* (Mot, the Son of El, is afraid / The beloved of El, Hero, is scared) at *KTU* 1.6 VI 30–31.

54 On the history of Amurru, see Singer 2011: 197–242.

55 Liverani 2004: 125–44; Devecchi 2012.

56 EA 116:67–71.

57 See EA 55:16–24, 44–52 for Qatna and EA 149:28–40 for Tyre. Rib-Hadda continuously likens Abdi-Ashirta and his sons to *ḫabiru*s, dogs, and traitors and tries the best he can to disqualify them in the eyes of the pharaoh (Liverani 2004: 97–124).

58 This is evident from the letters between local kings discovered at Ugarit. For Tyre see RS 34.149 (*RSO* VII 38); for Sidon, see, e.g., RS 11.723 (*PRU* III, 9); RS 34.149 (*RSO* VII 38); RS 94.2369 (*RSO* XXIII 52); RS 94.2396 (*RSO* XXIII 53); RS 94.2483 (*RSO* XXIII 56); and RS 94.2174 (*RSO* XXIII 58); for Beirut, see RS 86.2212 + 86.2214A (*RSO* XIV 11) and RS 94.2187 (*RSO* XXIII 50); for Ushnatu, see RS 94.2445 (*RSO* XXIII 42) and RS 94.2591 (*RSO* XXIII 43); for Qadesh, see RS 94.2287 (*RSO* XXIII 47); for Byblos, see RS 94.2182 (*RSO* XXIII 48) and RS 94.2598 (*RSO* XXIII 49). Hints of this tradition are also present in the Amarna letters; see, e.g., EA 89, 92, and 106.

59 *RSO* VI, pp. 303–5. The figure on the left is likely the king of Ugarit and the one on the right is the king of a neighboring petty kingdom.

60 Devecchi 2015.

61 *CTH* 49; Beckman 1999: no. 5. For a study of the historical prologue, see Altman 2004: 324–35.

62 The treaty between Aziru and Niqmaddu of Ugarit (RS 19.68 [*PRU* IV, 284–86]) likely took shape under the auspices of Suppiluliuma I, who attempted to consolidate Hittite influence in the region (cf. Devecchi 2013). Under the Hittites, Amurru's position grew. As part of Hattusili II's maneuvers to solidify his power after usurping the throne from Mursili III, he even gave Aziru's great-grandson Benteshina a Hittite princess in marriage (*CTH* 92; Beckman 1999: no. 16; see Singer 2011: 4–5). Interestingly, by the end of the thirteenth century, the king of Amurru would refer to the king of Ugarit as "my son" (RS 94.2091 [*RSO* XXIII 45] and RS 94.2597 [*RSO* XXIII 46]); although this may attest to an actual father-in-law relationship, it may also reflect an assertion of greater power on the part of the king of Amurru (even though primarily as a result of Hittite inclusion of Amurru within the royal family network through marriage). Earlier in the century, Shaushgamuwa of Amurru had written to his counterpart Ammistamru of Ugarit: "My brother, look, you and I are brothers, sons of one man. We are brothers, so why should we not have good (relations) between us? Any desires you may have of me [and you] write me (about it), I will give you, [and y]ou, may you give me my desires. [Look,] we are one family" (RS 17.116: 21′-28′ [*PRU* IV, 132–34], translated in Izre'el 1991: 2.74). Assessing the connotations of the kinship term is difficult because the two men were actually brothers-in-law – Shaushgamuwa was the son of the sister of Hattusili III, and Ammistamru was the (one-time) husband of Hattusili's niece, Shaushgamuwa's anonymous sister. Mahaza, a successor to Shaushgamuwa, refers to his counterpart in Ugarit as "brother" in a letter that must date to the end of the thirteenth century or even later (RS 10.046; Singer 2011: 287–93).

63 *CTH* 66; Beckman 1999: no. 9.

64 Singer 2011: 48.

65 Sahlins 2013: ix.

66 Sahlins 2013: 44.

67 Sahlins 2013: 52.

Conclusion

Facing the horrors of the mid-twentieth century, a prominent modern philosopher invoked ancient Near Eastern myth. *The Myth of the State* was Ernst Cassirer's attempt to make sense of the collapse of liberal democracy in the face of totalitarianism. The events of the 1930s and 1940s unsettled his earlier confidence in enlightenment as the final act in the human drama. The rise of Nazism in his native Germany forced him to acknowledge that the victory of rationality was not a fait accompli. And yet Cassirer never abandoned the belief that a rational society was possible. "The mythical organization of society seems to be superseded by a rational organization," Cassirer writes. "In quiet and peaceful times, in periods of relative stability and security, this rational organization is easily maintained. It seems to be safe against all attacks."[1] But not all times are quiet and peaceful. "In politics," Cassirer concedes, "we are always living on volcanic soil."[2] Political myth can erupt to destroy rational society – especially during times of crisis. It is, then, an irony of deep significance that Cassirer himself chose to draw on a political myth to explain this problem. The neo-Kantian philosopher evoked the Babylonian story of Marduk's subjugation of Tiamat as an allegory for this struggle of rationality against the ever-threatening forces of myth.

If myth, however, is not merely a primordial but a persistent force holding polities together – including self-proclaimed rational ones – Cassirer's vision of combat between mythic and rational societies can lead us astray. By presenting the tension between reason and myth as a conflict between two types of societies, *The Myth of the State* hides the fact that all regimes order themselves through myth in some way or another.[3] This is as true today as it was in the Bronze Age. The Hollywood Westerns that Robert Pippin calls examples of "mythological modernism" would be impossible if modern America did not have its own myths.[4]

The question then is not how to live without myth, but how to live with it. Rationality is not the characteristic of a regime fighting against the regimes of unreason, but a capacity available to individuals who choose to think critically about the myths that hold regimes together – today or anytime in the past. Thinking will always be the work of individuals critically engaging with the myths under which they live, not a historical accomplishment of societies that sweeps the individual along with it.

What role can poetry play in negotiating our relationship to political myth? Victoria Kahn has recently explored this question in her book *The Future of Illusion*. Though poetry can promote political myths, Kahn argues, it can also be instrumental in generating the thinking that frees us from them.[5] Kahn develops this argument, in part, by contrasting Cassirer's *The Myth of the State* with Ernst H. Kantorowicz's *The King's Two Bodies*.[6] Cassirer's junior by twenty years, Kantorowicz was also a Jewish refugee from Germany who spent his final years in the United States. *The King's Two Bodies* is more than an erudite study of medieval political theology; it is, as Kantorowicz noted in his preface, a contribution to the greater problem that Cassirer called "The Myth of the State."[7] Although Kantorowicz was responding to the same historical events that motivated Cassirer, his book displays a far more nuanced appreciation of the role of literature in politics.

Kantorowicz explored the capacity of poetry to promote reflective thinking through a reading of Shakespeare's *Richard II*. In Shakespeare's hands the medieval legal fiction of the king's two bodies – the body politic and the body natural – is shown to unravel on stage. The glorious image of kingship by the grace of God that one encounters early in the play fades as Richard II struggles with self-understanding. "The Universal called 'Kingship' begins to disintegrate," Kantorowicz explains. "Its transcendental 'Reality,' its objective truth and god-like existence, so brilliant shortly before, pales into a nothing, a *nomen*."[8] Richard II concludes his great speech on the Welsh coast recounting the death of kings (3.2.171–77):

> Cover your heads and mock not flesh and blood
> With solemn reverence. Throw away respect,
> Tradition, form and ceremonious duty.
> For you have but mistook me all this while,
> I live with bread like you, feel want,
> Taste grief, need friends. Subjected thus,
> How can you say to me I am a king?

The godhead and manhood of the king's two bodies are both clearly outlined in a few strokes and set in contrast to each other – breaking apart the fiction of the oneness of the double body.

Shakespeare dramatized the juridical principles of kingship of his day. He did so in a way that offered them up for reflection. In watching Richard II come to understand kingship as a fiction that can be dismantled, Shakespeare's audience is prompted to question a principal ground of their political order.[9] Literature is particularly well suited to this task, Kantorowicz suggests, because the legal fictions upon which kingship is built are just a peculiar kind of artistic fiction – and so literature possesses a unique capacity for shedding light on how fiction works

in the law.[10] The play, therefore, does not simply support divine right, but stages it in a manner that allows its claims to be considered reflectively.

Baal and the Politics of Poetry has aimed to show that a similar role for poetry was possible from the earliest moments of recorded human history. It has done so by focusing on a single Bronze Age poem. Poetry can both reinforce the myths that bind a society together and expose those myths as political fictions, and I have tried to show that the Baal Cycle is the latter kind of poetry. It engages with the myths of its day in a way that offers them to its audience as objects for critical reflection.[11] As such, Ilimilku's poem stands alongside Shakespeare's plays and John Ford's Westerns as literary works that assist us in understanding our political worlds. Though none of these works render political myth obsolete, they do foster a way of inhabiting polities that engages myth thoughtfully.

In exploring how the Baal Cycle engaged with the politics of its time, as evident in its artistic techniques and contents, I have tried to dispel prejudices that consign ancient Near Eastern literature to the far side of a radical break with myth. That story flounders both because myth has continued to play a role in our political lives and because it never enjoyed the uncontested hegemony that the story would have us believe. From earliest times, literature has played a role in both establishing myth's dominion and in unraveling it. Then, as now, not all fiction is ideology in narrative form. And so thinking critically about myth is as old as myth itself – even if much of modern thought has been built on the fiction that it is not. By attuning ourselves to the subtle manner in which a poem like the Baal Cycle could engage with the political ideas of its day, we might train ourselves to cultivate a reflective attitude toward our own political myths.

Although attaining a reflective posture toward the myths that ground one's political community is a perpetual task for individuals at all times, there do seem to be historical moments that produce conducive conditions for such questioning. Whereas Cassirer maintained that moments of crisis usher in the return of myth, they may actually serve to provoke critical reflection about the myths we live with. Norms tend to come more clearly into view when they are under pressure and breaking down.[12] In concluding this book, I want to consider the historical context that fostered Ilimilku's reflective representation of Bronze Age politics.

The Baal Cycle was written for Niqmaddu III, the penultimate king of Ugarit.[13] How might the Ugaritic poem's presentation of politics be understood in relation to broader intellectual developments of the Bronze Age's final years? The latter half of the thirteenth century was tumultuous for the Hittite empire. Both internal and external developments put pressure on traditional conceptions of politics and the divine – leading, eventually, to unprecedented claims about the Hittite sovereign's own divinity. I want to suggest that the innovative royal Hittite claims to divinity and the Baal Cycle's questioning of politics' divine foundation were two sides of the same coin. Both reflect a breakdown of traditional norms, though

one arose at the seat of Hittite imperial power whereas the other took shape at the periphery. Ilimilku's poem provides a glimpse of politics as seen from the edge of an anxious empire.

In their book *Aspetti della regalità ittita nel XIII secolo a.C.*, the Italian Hittitologists Mauro Giorgieri and Clelia Mora showed how Hittite expressions of kingship changed over the thirteenth century in response to the challenges that plagued the final years of the empire.[14] As evident from iconography and royal inscriptions, the kings of this period asserted progressively stronger links to the gods and accentuated the theocratic characteristics of their own kingship more emphatically. The process appears to have begun with Muwatalli II, who inaugurated a new iconographic language for reliefs and seals – including the scene of divine embrace discussed in the introduction. Subsequent monarchs intensified the process, culminating in Tudhaliya IV's depiction of himself in attire commonly reserved for the gods.[15] Tudhaliya also seems to have presented himself as the recipient of libations, which Hittite custom reserved for divinities.[16] As the monarchy became weaker, Hittite kings responded by claiming closer intimacy with the gods, which is observable in their public self-presentation.

Among the internal factors that contributed to these changes, Hattusili III's usurpation of the Hittite throne is particularly important. The brother of Muwatalli II, Hattusili ousted his nephew Mursili III (Urhi-Teshub) from Hattusa sometime around 1267 BCE. The usurpation sent shockwaves throughout the institutions of the empire. Hattusili defended his actions in an unabashedly self-exalting text that emphasized his close relationship with his personal goddess.[17] To counteract the perception that he had overstepped traditional norms of succession and acted out of personal interest, Hattusili claimed that he was merely her instrument. Assertions of predestination as justification for political actions were unprecedented, and not everyone went along with them.

The noble families of Hatti were split – some holding fast to traditional ways, others turning a blind eye to Hattusili's unorthodoxies for the good of the country or themselves. To consolidate power, Hattusili worked to eliminate opponents and place loyalists in positions of power, both within the Hittite heartland and throughout the empire. In Syria, Hattusili returned Benteshina to the throne of Amurru despite his prior treachery against Muwatalli II during that king's war with Egypt. This preferential treatment of Benteshina, and later his son Shaushgamuwa, was part of an effort to shore up support despite Hattusili's questionable acquisition of power.[18] These machinations to win Amurru's loyalty despite bald treason could not have gone unnoticed in neighboring Ugarit.

Problems of legitimacy persisted from the reign of Hattusili III into that of his son Tudhaliya IV. Obligation and oath texts discovered at Hattusa suggest that the new king intensified requirements that the royal family and administration swear loyalty to him. Though royal instructions date to the earliest periods of recorded Hittite history, Tudhaliya's demands betray a decided shift away from

the practical matters of administration "toward a single-minded emphasis on the issue of loyalty to the king."[19] One loyalty oath imposed on lords, princes, and courtiers declares:

> My Majesty has many brothers, and they have many fathers! The land of Hattusa is full of royal progeny. In Hattusa the progeny of Suppiluliuma, the progeny of Mursili, the progeny of Muwatalli (and) the progeny of Hattusili are numerous, and yet you shall recognize no other man for lordship.[20]

As Liverani has noted, had the courtiers and grandees here under oath demonstrated similar loyalty to Mursili III, they never would have permitted Tudhaliya's father to dethrone their lord.[21] That Tudhaliya further demands that they now discard any oaths that they have sworn to anyone else and remain loyal only to him is "a remarkably explicit endorsement of duplicity."[22] These texts not only illustrate "the insecure atmosphere that prevailed at the court due to the internal conflicts of the royal family,"[23] but likely also exacerbated the situation by calling attention to the contradictions in the king's theory of sovereignty. Tudhaliya's anxieties come to the fore when, in the oath that he imposed on his courtiers at his coronation, he imagines those courtiers scheming, "Who shall we raise up as king for ourselves? Is that other man not in fact a son of our lord?"[24] The Hittite king's nightmare echoes in the Baal Cycle when the gods supposedly subordinate to El declare Baal as their king (*KTU* 1.2 IV 32).

Perhaps most illustrative of Tudhaliya's unstable position, however, was the fact that he was not able to maintain a monopoly on his title as Great King. Shortly after his coup, Hattusili installed Tudhaliya's cousin Kuruntiya as king of Tarhuntassa – a reward for his nephew's support in the conflict with Urhi-Teshub. The move, which included significant territorial concessions, was also probably to preempt any claims Kuruntiya had to the throne.[25] The maneuver seems to have been only a partial success. Though Kuruntiya is unlikely to have made a military move against Hattusa, he did not respect his cousin's claim to being the only Great King in the Hittite realm.

Seal impressions reveal that Kuruntiya adopted the imperial titulature "My Sun, Great King, Labarna"; similarly, the hieroglyphic inscription above a figure on a relief from Hatip reads, "Kuruntiya, Great King."[26] From this evidence, Itamar Singer concluded "that from a certain point in the late-thirteenth century onwards there were two Hittite kings who claimed to be Great King, and they resided in Hattusa and Tarhuntassa respectively."[27] Because the king in Hattusa had no better option than to endure the slight, the institution of Hittite kingship suffered in the eyes of all around him.[28]

Whereas Hattusili's usurpation and its fallout disturbed the Hittite order from within, the defeat to Assyria at the battle of Nihriya (1233 BCE) was a major blow from without. In Chapter 6, I recounted Assyria's rise as a major regional power.

After filling the vacuum left by the Mitanni empire's disintegration, it was only a matter of time before Assyria would provoke a war with Hatti. The inevitable clash came early in Tudhaliya's reign. In preparation, Tudhaliya instructed his Syrian vassals to institute sanctions against Assyrian trade and mobilize for war. "Since the King of Assyria is My Majesty's enemy, he shall be your enemy," Tudhaliya instructs Shaushgamuwa of Amurru. "Your merchant shall not go to Assyria, and you shall not allow his merchant into your land. [F]orm for yourself, like My Majesty, an army and a unit of chariots. Just as it is a matter of urgency for My Majesty, it shall be a matter of urgency for you."[29]

Hectic letters were sent to Ibiranu, Ammistamru's successor in Ugarit, telling him to mobilize his troops.[30] Despite reprimands, it is unclear whether Ibiranu ever actually dispatched Ugarit's army to assist his suzerain. Hatti's frenzied preparations proved to be of no avail; Tudhaliya suffered a devastating defeat at the hands of Assyria's young king Tukulti-Ninurta.

In the letter discovered at Ugarit recounting the events surrounding the battle of Nihriya, Tukulti-Ninurta paints a picture of his Hittite adversary as a weakling desperately grasping onto hackneyed norms while lacking the force necessary to enforce them.[31] Tudhaliya hardly commands respect. By extension, nor do the institutions of brotherhood and oath taking to which he appeals. Tudhaliya's instrumental use of oaths and diplomatic forms reveal them to be rooted in political expedience, not a higher divine order. And so allegiance, the Assyrian king implies, is a matter of prudence, not piety.

Upon reading the missive, Ibiranu could hardly have failed to question the wisdom of maintaining Ugarit's fidelity to Hatti. And there is evidence that the kingdom began to distance itself from its Hittite overlords: time and again the city was reprimanded for not keeping up its vassal duties, while letters from Merneptah and Seti II suggest that Ugarit was actively exploring the possibility of intensifying its relationship with Egypt in the years following Hatti's humiliating defeat at Nihriya.[32]

Ilimilku probably served his king in a diplomatic role during the Hittite-Assyrian war. As discussed in Chapter 2, several documents place him at the intersection of Ugaritic affairs with Hatti and Assyria. Several years later, after Niqmaddu III replaced his father Ibiranu on the throne, Ilimilku presented the Baal Cycle to his new sovereign. The theme of that poem was literally sovereignty. Because the name Baal is also the common noun for lord or master, the Ugaritic title of the work, *li-ba'li*, can mean both "Of (the god) Baal" and "About (a) Lord." Resonances of the common-noun meaning of the title would have been immediately perceptible to the poem's initial audience, coloring it as about the nature of lordship itself.

While Tudhaliya IV was frantically composing loyalty oaths to define the parameters of lordship for his Hittite courtiers, a courtier at Ugarit produced a poem about the foundations of sovereignty for his king. Built on a profound

comprehension of the workings of Bronze Age politics, the poem encouraged its audience to question traditional doctrines about the relationship between power and piety. Precisely the kind of thinking that Tudhaliya feared most in the imperial capital was officially endorsed at the empire's fringe.

It is impossible to know how well Niqmaddu understood his counselor's poem. And if he was privy to his scribe's wisdom, it remains unclear what the king would have hoped to gain from its dissemination. Did Niqmaddu wish to enlighten his fellows about the basis of Hittite sovereignty over Ugarit? Did he simply wish to enlighten them tout court? However we answer such questions, the intellectual courage of the Ugaritic poem remains remarkable. Whereas other subjected peoples might have tried to elevate their own god to counteract the theologico-political claims of an imperial overlord, the Baal Cycle's strategy was to throw into question all claims about politics' divine foundation.

Rather than one-up the Bronze Age imperial ideology that threatened Ugarit, the Baal Cycle takes the wind out of its sails. But that meant throwing longstanding Ugaritic ideas about politics into question as well. The outcome of this gamble remains unknown. Whatever effect the Baal Cycle might have had, it would not have lasted long. The historical vicissitudes that would soon overcome the Hittite empire and render Hattusa the ruin that Charles Texier happened upon so many years later were no less vicious to Hatti's southern vassal. Shortly after Niqmaddu's reign ended, Ugarit – and with it Ilimilku's poem – was buried under the sands, only to reemerge centuries later when other Frenchmen unearthed the remains of a city that now fell within their empire.

Notes

1 Cassirer 1946: 279–80.
2 Cassirer 1946: 280.
3 It is unclear to what extent Cassirer recognized the irony of presenting his argument against myth in a form analogous to Babylonian myth. A charitable reader might argue that Cassirer realized that liberal democracy needed a powerful myth to sustain it against illiberal forces and that *The Myth of the State* was written to provide such a myth; namely, the myth of a rational society without myth. In the wake of the events of September 11, 2001, the question of whether liberalism possesses the necessary resources to defend itself has reemerged, prompting discussion of the role of religion in secular modernity; see, inter alia, Habermas and Ratzinger 2006; Lilla 2007; C. Taylor 2007; Eagleton 2009; and Agamben 2011. Though one should be careful not to conflate myth and religion, all these discussions ultimately revolve around what it might mean to live free from both.
4 See the discussion of Pippin 2010 in Chapter 1.
5 Kahn 2014: 21. Though I am sympathetic to Kahn's argument that literature can play a significant role in critiquing a theological worldview, I would resist her suggestion that there is something particularly modern about this.
6 Kahn 2014: 55–81.
7 Kantorowicz 1957: ix. Kahn (2014: 74–5) takes the claim to be "somewhat ironic" because the relationship between myth and political power was a constant preoccupation for Kantorowicz from his earliest prewar writings, whereas it remained a blind

spot for Cassirer up until his final years. By restricting himself to the fiction of the king's two bodies, Kantorowicz hoped "to have avoided, at least to some extent, certain dangers customary with some all-too-sweeping and ambitious studies in the history of ideas: loss of control over topics, material, and facts; vagueness of language and argument; unsubstantiated generalizations; and lack of tension resulting from tedious repetitions."

8 Kantorowicz 1957: 29. For Richard's concern that kingship is but a name, compare *Richard II*, 3.2.83–87, 3.3.136, and 3.3.145–6.

9 "If we attend to the 'legal cast' of the play's plot," writes Lorna Hutson (2009: 136), "it becomes evident that the status of divine vicariousness asserted by [Richard] is being offered to the audience's skeptical, equitable judgment."

10 Kahn 2014: 65–6.

11 This is not to say that all members of the audience necessarily took up the opportunity to be reflective. Some may have recognized nothing more in the poem than a reiteration of their unreflective beliefs – enjoying it for the familiar tropes that it replays. The same work can speak to different audience members in different ways.

12 Jonathan Lear (2006b) provides a compelling account of coping with normative breakdown. Jan Assmann (2005: 138–9) has suggested that the notion of break-*through* commonly encountered in discussions of the Axial Age should be reconceived as instances of break-*down*.

13 To reiterate a point that I made in Chapter 1: I believe that the unique literary and intellectual nature of the Baal Cycle is best explained by the fact that it was written by a remarkable diplomat late in Ugarit's life. However, the literary analyses presented throughout this book do not depend on Ilimilku being the poem's author; they emerge from the text itself. The poem's approach to politics could conceivably have been developed earlier in Ugarit's long history as a vassal kingdom. What we do know for certain is that the poem was considered to be relevant toward the end of the thirteenth century such that it was produced for and presented to the king.

14 Giorgieri and Mora 1996, updated in Giorgieri and Mora 2010. See also, de Martino 2010.

15 van den Hout 1995; cf. Beckman 2012.

16 Altar B at Emirgazi, §§33–37 (Hawkins 1995: 86–102), following the interpretation in van den Hout 1995: 561–4; cf. van den Hout 2007: 345, n. 24. For a different opinion, see Hawkins 2006: 54–8.

17 *CTH* 81; "Apology of Hattusili III" (*COS* 1.77).

18 Singer 2011: 4.

19 Miller 2013: 22–3.

20 *CTH* 255.2; Miller 2013: no. 27, §§1–2.

21 Liverani 2001: 130–1.

22 Miller 2013: 283.

23 Giorgieri and Mora 2010: 139; cf. Starke 1996 and Pecchioli Daddi 2006.

24 *CTH* 255.2; Miller 2013: no. 27, §3.

25 Singer 2011: 648.

26 Giorgieri and Mora 2010: 141; cf. de Martino 2010: 91.

27 Singer 2011: 647; for a different opinion, see Goedegebuure 2012: 432–4. Even if, as Singer clarifies, Kuruntiya did not present himself as the Great King *of Hatti*, as did the monarchs residing in Hattusa, the coexistence of two Great Kings in Hittite territory is a radical departure from tradition – especially because Kuruntiya was subject by treaty to the Great King in Hattusa (see Beckman 1999: no. 18).

28 Jared Miller (2013: 283) has argued, based on the anticipation of treasonous thinking included explicitly in the texts of the loyalty oaths, "that Tudhaliya must have been haunted by the suspicion that many within his innermost circle would have realized what he clearly knew himself, i.e., that one could easily argue that the 'rightful' king, Kurunta, resided in Tarhuntassa, not in Hattusa. He seems, moreover, to have been

wary of his own brothers, too, or at least of the potential for his courtiers to prefer one of them for the throne, since the 'progeny of Hattusili as well as the brothers of my Majesty born of the Queen' are noted among his latent rivals."

29 *CTH* 105; Beckman 1999: no. 17.

30 Singer 2011: 360; cf. RS 17.59 (*PRU* IV, 150–1) and RS 17.289 (*PRU* IV, 192).

31 RS 34.165 (*RSO* VII 46).

32 On the reprimands, see Singer 2011: 94–7, 106–7; on Ugarit's turn toward Egypt, see Singer 2011: 107–13. Though many of the relevant documents date to the reign of Ammurapi and so postdate the production of the Baal Cycle, some of the reprimands had already been aimed at Niqmaddu III. The king for whom the Baal Cycle was written appears to have been savvy because he managed to appease his angry Hittite suzerain and acquire a Hittite princess for a bride (RS 34.136 [*RSO* VII, no. 7]; Singer 2011: 100–3), all the while pursuing alternative options in foreign affairs.

Taylor & Francis
Taylor & Francis Group
http://taylorandfrancis.com

Appendix

The Envoy Scene (*KTU* 1.2 I 11–46)

Yamm sends envoys,
Ruler Nahar, an embassy.
[They rejoice]
“Go, lads, don’t dally,
head for the assembled council,
for Mount Lalu.
Don’t fall at El’s feet,
nor bow to the assembled council.
Standing, speak the speech,
recite your instructions.
Say to the Bull, [my] father [El],
recite to the assembled council:
Message of Yamm, your lord,
your master, Ruler Nahar:
Give up, gods, the one you obey,
the one the multitude fears;
Give up Baal so I may humble him,
Dagan’s son, so I may seize his gold.”
The lads depart. They don’t dally.
They head for Mount Lalu,
for the assembled council.
Meanwhile the gods sit down to feast,
the sons of the Holy One, to dine.
Baal standing up to El.
The gods see them,
they see Yamm’s envoys,
the embassy of Ruler Nahar.
The gods lower their heads to their knees,
onto their princely thrones.
Baal rebukes them:
“Why, gods, do you lower your heads to your knees,

onto your princely thrones?
As one the gods must answer
the tablet of Yamm's envoys,
the embassy of Ruler Nahar.
Raise, gods, your heads from your knees,
off of your princely thrones.
And I myself will answer Yamm's envoys,
the embassy of Ruler Nahar."
The gods raise their heads from their knees,
off of their princely thrones.
Then Yamm's envoys arrive,
the embassy of Ruler Nahar.
At El's feet they don't fall,
nor bow to the assembled council.
Standing, they speak the speech,
Recite their instructions.
Like a flame, two flames, they appear,
Their tongue a sharpened sword.
They say to the Bull, his father El:
"Message of Yamm, your lord,
your master, Ruler Nahar:
Give up, gods, the one you obey,
the one the multitude fears.
Give up Baal so I may humble him,
Dagan's son so I may seize his gold."
The Bull, his Father El, answers:
"Baal is your vassal, O Yamm,
Baal is your vassal, O Nahar,
Dagan's son, your prisoner.
He will indeed bring you tribute,
like the gods he'll bring you a gift,
the sons of the Holy One, offerings."
Then Prince Baal gets agitated.
He grabs a club with his hand,
with his right hand a bat.
He clobbers the lads.
Anat grabs his right hand,
Athtart grabs his left.
"How could you batter Yamm's envoys,
the embassy of Ruler Nahar?"
[Baal responds:]
"I, for my part, say to Yamm, your lord,
[your] master, [Ruler Nahar]."

Bibliography

Agamben, Giorgio. 2011. *The Kingdom and the Glory: For a Theological Genealogy of Economy and Government*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Ahlström, Gösta W. 1963. *Aspects of Syncretism in Israelite Religion*. Lund: Gleerup.

Albright, William F. 1932. "The North-Canaanite Epic of 'Al'êyân Ba'al and Môt." *Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society* 12: 185–208.

———. 1936. "Zabûl Yam and Thâpiṭ Nahar in the Combat Between Baal and the Sea." *Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society* 16: 17–20.

———. 1958. "Specimens of Late Ugaritic Prose." *BASOR* 150: 36–8.

———. 1961. "The Role of the Canaanites in the History of Civilization." Pp. 328–62 in *The Bible and the Ancient Near East: Essays in Honor of W. F. Albright*. Edited by G. E. Wright. New York: Doubleday.

———. 1968. *Yahweh and the Gods of Canaan: A Historical Analysis of Two Contrasting Faiths*. London: Athlone Press.

Albright, William F. and William L. Moran. 1950. "Rib-Adda of Byblos and the Affairs of Tyre (EA 89)." *JCS* 4: 163–8.

Aldred, Cyril. 1970. "The Foreign Gifts Offered to Pharaoh." *JEA* 56: 105–16.

Allen, Douglas. 2002. *Myth and Religion in Mircea Eliade*. New York: Routledge.

Allon, Niv. 2007. "Seth Is Baal – Evidence From the Egyptian Script." *Ägypten und Levant* 17: 15–22.

Alter, Robert. 1999. *The David Story: A Translation With Commentary of 1 and 2 Samuel*. New York: W. W. Norton.

Altman, Amnon. 2004. *The Historical Prologues of the Hittite Vassal Treaties: An Inquiry Into the Concepts of Hittite Interstate Law*. Ramat-Gan: Bar-Ilan University Press.

Archi, Alfonso. 2009. "Orality, Direct Speech and the Kumarbi Cycle." *AoF* 36: 209–29.

Arnason, Johann P. 2012. "Rehistoricizing the Axial Age." Pp. 337–65 in *The Axial Age and Its Consequences*. Edited by R. Bellah and H. Joas. Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press.

Arnaud, Daniel. 1986. *Recherches au pays d'Astata. Emar VI.3: Textes sumériens et accadiens*. Paris: Éditions Recherches sur les Civilisations.

———. 1999. "Prolégomènes à la redaction d'une histoire d'Ougarit II: Les Bordereux de rois divinisés." *SMEA* 41: 153–73.

———. 2007. *Corpus des textes de bibliothèque de Ras Shamra-Ougarit (1936–2000) en sumérien, babylonien et assyrien*. AuOrSup 23. Barcelona: AUSA.

Arnold, Bill T. and David B. Weisberg. 2002. "A Centennial Review of Friedrich Delitzsch's 'Babel und Bibel' Lectures." *JBL* 121: 441–57.

Artzi, Pinhas. 1978. "The Rise of the Middle-Assyrian Kingdom According to El-Amarna Letters 15 & 16." Pp. 25–41 in *Bar-Ilan Studies in History*. Edited by P. Artzi. Ramat-Gan: Bar-Ilan University Press.

———. 1993. “A Further Royal Campaign to the Mediterranean Sea? Reedition and Interpretation of EA 340.” *Eretz-Israel* 24: 23–30. (Hebrew)

Assmann, Jan. 1997. *Moses the Egyptian: The Memory of Egypt in Western Monotheism*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

———. 2005. “Axial ‘Breakthroughs’ and Semantic ‘Relocations’ in Ancient Egypt and Israel.” Pp. 133–56 in *Axial Civilization and World History*. Edited by J. P. Arnason, S. N. Eisenstadt, and B. Wittrock. Leiden: Brill.

———. 2012. “Cultural Memory and the Myth of the Axial Age.” Pp. 366–407 in *The Axial Age and Its Consequences*. Edited by R. Bellah and H. Joas. Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press.

Attridge, Harold W. and Robert A. Oden, Jr. 1981. *Philo of Byblos. The Phoenician History: Introduction, Critical Text, Translation, Notes*. CBQMS 9. Washington, DC: The Catholic Biblical Association.

Ayali-Darshan, Noga. 2010. “‘The Bride of the Sea’: The Traditions of Astarte and Yamm in the Ancient Near East.” Pp. 19–33 in *A Woman of Valor: Jerusalem Ancient Near Eastern Studies in Honor of Joan Goodnik Westenholz*. Edited by W. Horowitz, U. Gabbay, and F. Vukosavović. Madrid: CSIC.

———. 2013. “Baal, Son of Dagan: In Search of Baal’s Double Paternity.” *JAOS* 133: 651–7.

———. 2015. “The Other Version of the Story of the Storm-god’s Combat With the Sea in Light of Egyptian, Ugaritic, and Hurro-Hittite Texts.” *JANER* 15: 20–51.

———. 2016. *Treading on the Back of Sea: The Combat Between the Storm-god and the Sea in Ancient Near Eastern Literature*. Biblical Encyclopedia Library 33. Jerusalem: Bialik Institute. (Hebrew).

Baines, John. 1998. “The Dawn of the Amarna Age.” Pp. 271–312 in *Amenhotep III: Perspectives on His Reign*. Edited by D. O’Connor and E. H. Cline. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

Bakhtin, Mikhail. 1984. *Problems of Dostoevsky’s Poetics*. Edited and translated by C. Emerson. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Ballentine, Debra Scoggins. 2015. *The Conflict Myth and the Biblical Tradition*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Bardinet, Thierry. 1995. *Les Papyrus médicaux de l’Égypt pharaonique: Traduction intégrale et commentaire*. Paris: Fayard.

Barthes, Roland. 1972. *Mythologies*. Translated by A. Lavers. New York: Farrar, Strauss & Giroux.

Barton, Carlin A. and Daniel Boyarin. 2016. *Imagine No Religion: How Modern Abstractions Hide Ancient Realities*. New York: Fordham University Press.

Bazin, André. 1971. “The Western, or the American Film *par excellence*.” Pp. 140–8 in *What Is Cinema?* Vol. 2. Translated by H. Gray. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Beal, Richard H. 1992. “The Location of Cilician Ura.” *Anatolian Studies* 42: 65–73.

Beckman, Gary. 1995. “Royal Ideology and State Administration in Hittite Anatolia.” Pp. 529–43 in *Civilizations of the Ancient Near East*. Vol. 1. Edited by J. M. Sasson. New York: Scribners.

———. 1996a. “Family Values on the Middle Euphrates in the Thirteenth Century B.C.E.” Pp. 57–79 in *Emar: The History, Religion, and Culture of a Syrian Town in the Late Bronze Age*. Edited by M. W. Chavalas. Bethesda: CDL Press.

———. 1996b. *Texts From the Vicinity of Emar*. HANEM 2. Padua: Sargon.

———. 1997. “Real Property Sales at Emar.” Pp. 95–120 in *Crossing Borders and Linking Horizons: Studies in Honor of Michael C. Astour on His 80th Birthday*. Edited by G. D. Young, M. W. Chavalas, and R. Averbeck. Bethesda: CDL Press.

———. 1999. *Hittite Diplomatic Texts*. Second edition. Edited by H. A. Hoffner, Jr. SBLWAW 7. Atlanta: Scholars.

———. 2007. "Ugarit and Inner Syria During the Late Bronze Age." Pp. 163–74 in *Le Royaume d'Ougarit de la Crète à l'Euphrate: Nouveaux Axes de recherche. Actes du congrès international de Sherbrooke 2005*. Edited by J.-M. Michaud. Collection Proche-Orient et Littérature Ougaritique 2. Sherbrooke: G.G.C. Editions.

———. 2012. "The Horns of a Dilemma, or on the Divine Nature of the Hittite King." Pp. 605–10 in *Organization, Representation, and Symbols of Power in the Ancient Near East: Proceedings of the 54th Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale at Würzburg, 20–25 July 2008*. Edited by G. Wilhelm. Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns.

Bellah, Robert. 2005. "What Is Axial About the Axial Age?" *European Journal of Sociology* 46: 69–89.

———. 2011. *Religion in Human Evolution: From the Paleolithic to the Axial Age*. Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press.

Belnap, Daniel L. 2007. *Filets of Fatlings and Goblets of Gold: The Use of Meal Events in the Ritual Imagery of the Ugaritic Mythological and Epic Texts*. Ph.D. diss., University of Chicago.

Benjamin, Walter. 1977. *Understanding Brecht*. Translated by A. Bostock. London: Verso.

———. 1998. *The Origin of German Tragic Drama*. Translated by J. Osborne. London: Verso.

Berger, Peter L. and Thomas Luckmann. 1966. *The Social Construction of Reality: A Treatise in the Sociology of Knowledge*. New York: Anchor Books.

Berger, Peter L. and Stanley Pullberg. 1965. "Reification and the Sociological Critique of Consciousness." *History and Theory* 4: 196–211.

Birot, Maurice. 1990. "La Lettre de Yarim-Lim N° 72–39 + 72–8." Pp. 127–35 in *De la Babylonie à la Syrie, en passant par Mari: Mélanges offerts à Monsieur J.-R. Kupper à l'occasion de son 70e anniversaire*. Edited by Ö. Tunca. Liège: Université de Liège.

Blam, Jean-François. 2004. "Le *Chant de l'océan*: Fragment KBo XXVI 105." Pp. 69–81 in *Antiquus Oriens: Mélanges Offerts au Professeur René Lebrun*. Edited by M. Mazoyer and O. Casabonne. Paris: KUBABA.

Bleiberg, Edward. 1984. "The King's Privy Purse During the New Kingdom: An Examination of *INW*." *JARCE* 21: 155–67.

Blumenberg, Hans. 1985. *Work on Myth*. Translated by R. M. Wallace. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Bordreuil, Pierre. 1984. "Arrou Ġourou et Ṣapanou: Circonscriptions administratives et géographie mythiques du royaume d'Ougarit." *Syria* 61: 1–10.

———. 1991. "Recherches ougaritiques I: Où Baal a-t-il remporté la victoire contre Yam?" *Semitica* 40: 17–28.

Bordreuil, Pierre and Florence Malbran-Labat. 1995. "Les Archives de la maison d'Ourtenou." *CRAIBL* 2: 443–51.

Bordreuil, Pierre and Dennis Pardee. 1993. "Le Combat de Ba'lu avec Yammu." *MARI* 7: 63–70.

Borghouts, Joris F. 1978. *Ancient Egyptian Magical Texts*. NISABA 9. Leiden: Brill.

Brecht, Bertolt. 1964. *Brecht on Theatre: The Development of an Aesthetic*. Edited and translated by J. Willett. New York: Hill and Wang.

Bryce, Trevor R. 2003. *Letters of the Great Kings of the Ancient Near East: The Royal Correspondence of the Late Bronze Age*. New York: Routledge.

Caquot, André. 1992. "Le Léviathan de Job 40,25–41,26." *RB* 99: 40–69.

Caquot, André and Maurice Sznycer. 1980. *Ugaritic Religion*. Leiden: Brill.

Carr, David M. 2005. *Writing on the Tablet of the Heart: Origins of Scripture and Literature*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Cassirer, Ernst. 1946. *The Myth of the State*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

———. 1955. *The Philosophy of Symbolic Forms. Vol. 2: Mythical Thought*. Translated by R. Manheim. New Haven: Yale University Press.

———. 2013. *The Warburg Years (1919–1933): Essays on Language, Art, Myth, and Technology*. Translated by S. G. Lofts and A. Calcagno. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Cathcart, Kevin J. 1999. "The Decipherment of Ugaritic." Pp. 76–80 in *Handbook of Ugaritic Studies*. Edited by W. G. E. Watson and N. Wyatt. Leiden: Brill.

Charpin, Dominique. 1990. "L'*Andurârum* à Mari." *MARI* 6: 253–70.

———. 1991a. "Les Champions, la meule et la fleuve." *FM* 1: 29–38.

———. 1991b. "Un Traité entre Zimri-Lim de Mari et Ibâl-Pî-El II." Pp. 139–66 in *Marchands, diplomates, er empereurs: Études sur la civilisation Mésopotamienne offertes à Paul Garelli*. Edited by D. Charpin and F. Joannès. Paris: Editions Recherches sur les Civilisations.

———. 1992. "Le Contexte historique et géographique des prophéties dans les textes retrouvés à Mari." *BCSMS* 23: 21–31.

———. 1994. "Une Campagne de Yahdun-Lîm." *FM* 2: 177–200.

———. 1998. "L'Évocation du passé dans les lettres de Mari." Pp. 91–110 in *Intellectual Life of the Ancient Near East: Papers Presented at the 43rd Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale, Prague, July 1–5, 1996*. Edited by J. Prosecký. Prague: Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic Oriental Institute.

———. 2001. "Prophètes et rois dans le Proche-Orient amorrite." Pp. 21–53 in *Prophètes et rois: Bible et Proche-Orient*. Edited by A. Lemaire. Paris: Éditions du Cerf.

Charpin, Dominique and Jean-Marie Durand. 1985. "La Prise de pouvoir par Zimrî-Lîm." *MARI* 4: 293–343.

———. 1986. "'Fils de Sim'al': Les Origins tribales des rois de Mari." *RA* 80: 141–83.

———. 1997. "Aššur avant l'Assyrie." *MARI* 8: 367–92.

Charpin, Dominique and Nele Ziegler. 2003. *Mari et le Proche-Orient à l'époque amorrite: Essai d'histoire politique*. Florilegium Marianum 5. Mémoires de NABU 6. Paris: SEPOA.

Cline, Eric H. 2014. *1177 B.C.: The Year Civilization Collapsed*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Cohen, Raymond and Raymond Westbrook, eds. 2000. *Amarna Diplomacy: The Beginnings of International Relations*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.

Collins, Billie Jean. 2008. *The Hittites and Their World*. Archaeological and Biblical Studies 7. Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature.

Collombert, Philippe and Laurent Coulon. 2000. "Les Dieux contre la mer: Le Début du 'papyrus d'Astarté' (pBN 202)." *BIFAO* 100: 193–242.

Collon, Dominique. 2000. *First Impressions: Cylinder Seals in the Ancient Near East*. London: The British Museum Press.

Comaroff, Jean and John L. Comaroff. 1991. *Of Revelation and Revolution: Christianity, Colonialism, and Consciousness in South Africa*. Vol. 1. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Cooper, Jerrold. 2001. "Literature and History: The Historical and Political Referents of Sumerian Literary Texts." Pp. 131–47 in *Historiography in the Cuneiform World*. Edited by T. Abusch, P.-A. Beaulieu, J. Huehnergard, P. Machinist, and P. Steinkeller. Bethesda: CDL Press.

Cornelius, Izak. 1994. *The Iconography of the Canaanite Gods Reshef and Baʿal: Late Bronze and Iron Age I Periods (c 1500–1000 BCE)*. OBO 140. Fribourg: University Press.

Cornford, Francis M. 1912. *From Religion to Philosophy: A Study in the Origins of Western Speculation*. New York: Longmans Green.

Cross, Frank Moore. 1973. *Canaanite Myth and Hebrew Epic: Essays on the History of the Religion of Israel*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

———. 1998. *From Epic to Canon: History and Literature in Ancient Israel*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.

Curtis, Adrian H. W. 1999. "Ras Shamra, Minet el-Beida, and Ras Ibn Hani: The Material Sources." Pp. 5–27 in *Handbook of Ugaritic Studies*. Edited by W. G. E. Watson and N. Wyatt. Leiden: Brill.

Dalferth, Ingolf U. 2012. "The Idea of Transcendence." Pp. 146–88 in *The Axial Age and Its Consequences*. Edited by R. Bellah and H. Joas. Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press.

d'Alfonso, Lorenzo. 2005. *Le procedure giudiziarie ittite in Siria (XII sec. A.C.)*. StMed 17. Pavia: Italian University Press.

Delitzsch, Friedrich. 2007. *Babel and Bible: Two Lectures*. Translated by C. H. W. Johns. Eugene: Wipf & Stock.

del Olmo Lete, Gregorio. 1995. "Mitología y religión de Siria en el II milenio a.C." Pp. 47–222 in *Mitología y Religión del Oriente Antiguo, vol. II/2: Semitas Occidentales (Emar, Ugarit, Hebreos, Fenicios, Arameos, Árabes*. Edited by G. del Olmo Lette. Estudios Orientales 9. Barcelona: AUSA.

———. 1999. *Canaanite Religion According to the Liturgical Texts of Ugarit*. Translated by W. G. E. Watson. Bethesda, MD: CDL Press.

———. 2012. "Littérature et pouvoir royal à Ougarit. Sens politique de la littérature d'Ougarit." Pp. 241–50 in *Études ougaritiques II*. Edited by V. Matoïan, M. Al-Maqdissi, and Y. Calvet. RSO 20. Leuven: Peeters.

Démare-Lafont, Sophie. 2008. "The King and the Diviner at Emar." Pp. 207–17 in *The City of Emar Among the Late Bronze Age Empires: History, Landscape, and Society. Proceedings of the Konstanz Emar Conference, 25.-26.04.2006*. Edited by L. d'Alfonso, Y. Cohen, and D. Sürenhagen. AOAT 349. Münster: Ugarit-Verlag.

———. 2012. "Les 'Frères' en Syrie à l'époque du Bronze récent: Réflexions et hyphothèses." Pp. 129–41 in *Organization, Representation, and Symbols of Power in the Ancient Near East: Proceedings of the 54th Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale at Würzburg, 20–25 July 2008*. Edited by G. Wilhelm. Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns.

de Martino, Stefano. 2010. "Symbols of Power in the Late Hittite Kingdom." Pp. 87–98 in *Pax Hethitica: Studies on the Hittites and Their Neighbours in Honour of Itamar Singer*. Edited by Y. Cohen, A. Gilan, and J. L. Miller. StBoT 51. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

de Martino, Stefano and Fiorella Imparati. 1998. "La 'Mano' nelle più significative espressioni idiomatiche ittite." Pp. 175–85 in *do-ra-qe pe-re. Studi in memoria di Adriana Quattordio Moreschini*. Edited by L. Agostiniani. Pisa: Istituti editoriali e poligrafici internazionali.

———. 2001. "Observations on Hittite International Treaties." Pp. 347–63 in *Akten des IV. Internationalen Kongresses für Hethitologie*. Edited by G. Wilhelm. StBoT 45. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

Devecchi, Elena. 2012. "Aziru, Servant of Three Masters?" *AoF* 39: 38–48.

———. 2013. "Suppiluliuma's Syrian Campaigns in Light of the Documents From Ugarit." Pp. 81–97 in *New Results and New Questions on the Reign of Suppiluliuma I*. Edited by S. de Martino and J. L. Miller. Florence: LoGisma.

———. 2015. "The International Relations of Ḫatti's Syrian Vassals, or How to Make the Best of Things." Pp. 117–26 in *Policies of Exchange: Political Systems and Modes of Interaction in the Aegean and the Near East in the 2nd Millennium B.C.E. Proceedings of the International Symposium at the University of Freiburg Institute for Archaeological Studies, 30th May-2nd June 2012*. Edited by B. Eder and R. Pruzsinsky. Vienna: Austrian Academy of Sciences Press.

Dietrich, Manfried. 2001. "Der Brief des Kommandeurs Šumiyānu an den ugaritischen König Niqmepa' (RS 20.33)." *UF* 33: 117–91.

———. 2003. "Salmanassar I. von Assyrien, Ibirānu (VI.) von Ugarit und Tudḫalija IV. von Ḫatti: RS 34.165 und die Schlacht von Niḫrija zwischen den Hethitern und Assyrern." *UF* 35: 103–39.

Dietrich, Manfried, Oswald Loretz, and Walter Mayer. 1989. "Sikkanum 'Betyle'." *UF* 21: 133–9.

Doniger, Wendy. 1998. *The Implied Spider: Politics and Theology in Myth*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Dossin, Georges. 1950. "Le Panthéon de Mari." Pp. 41–50 in *Studia Mariana*. Edited by A. Parrot. Leiden: Brill.

———. 1956. "Une Lettre de Iarîm-Lim, roi d'Alep, à Iašub-Iaḫad, roi de Dîr." *Syria* 33: 63–9.

———. 1973. "Une Opposition Familiale." Pp. 178–88 in *La Voix de l'opposition en Mésopotamie: Colloque organisé par l'Institut des Hautes Études de Belgique, 19 et 20 mars 1973*. Edited by A. Finet. Brussels: Institut des Hautes Études de Belgique.

Durand, Jean-Marie. 1990. "*šuke"unum* = 'Prosternation'." *NABU* 24.

———. 1992. "Unité et diversités au Proche-Orient à l'époque amorrite." Pp. 97–128 in *La Circulation des biens, des personnes et des idées dans le Proche-Orient: Actes de la XXXVIII^e Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale (Paris, 8–10 juillet 1991)*. Edited by D. Charpin and F. Joannès. Paris: Éditions Recherche sur les Civilisations.

———. 1993. "Le Mythologème du combat entre le dieu de l'orage et la mer en Mésopotamie." *MARI* 7: 41–61.

———. 1997. "Itûr-Mêr, dieu des serments." Pp. 57–69 in *Jurer et maudire: Pratiques politiques et usages juridiques du serment dans le Proche-Orient ancien*. Edited by S. Lafont. Paris: L'Harmattan.

———. 2002. *Le Culte d'Addu d'Alep et l'affaire d'Alahtum*. Florilegium Marianum 7. Mémoires de NABU 8. Paris: SEPOA.

———. 2008. "Le Religion amorrite en Syrie à l'époque des archives de Mari." Pp. 163–716 in *Mythologie et Religion des Sémites Occidentaux. Vol. 1: Ébla, Mari*. Edited by G. Del Olmo Lete. Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 162. Leuven: Peeters.

Eagleton, Terry. 2009. *Reason, Faith, and Revolution: Reflections on the God Debate*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Eisenstadt, Shmuel N. 1986. "Introduction: The Axial Age Breakthroughs – Their Characteristics and Origins." Pp. 1–25 and 486–8 in *The Origins and Diversity of Axial Age Civilizations*. Edited by S. N. Eisenstadt. Albany: State University of New York Press.

Eliade, Mircea. 1978. *A History of Religious Ideas, Vol. 1: From the Stone Age to the Eleusinian Mysteries*. Translated by W. R. Trask. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

———. 2005. *The Myth of the Eternal Return: Cosmos and History*. Translated by W. R. Trask. Bollingen Series 46. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

———. 2010. *The Portugal Journal*. Translated by M. L. Ricketts. Albany: State University of New York Press.

Elnes, Eric E. and Patrick D. Miller. 1999. "Elyon." Pp. 293–9 in *Dictionary of Deities and Demons in the Bible*. Second edition. Edited by K. van der Toorn, B. Becking, and P. W. van der Horst. Leiden: Brill.

Evans-Pritchard, Edward Evan. 1965. *Theories of Primitive Religion*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Faust, Avraham. 2008. *Israel's Ethnogenesis: Settlement, Interaction, Expansion, and Resistance*. Sheffield: Equinox.

Feliu, Lluis. 2003. *The God Dagan in Bronze Age Syria*. Translated by W. G. E. Watson. Leiden: Brill.

Fensham, Frank C. 1979. "Notes on Treaty Terminology in the Ugaritic Epics." *UF* 11: 265–74.

Fincke, Jeanette C. 2012. "The School Curricula From Ḫattuša, Emar and Ugarit: A Comparison." Pp. 85–101 in *Theory and Practice of Knowledge Transfer: Studies in School Education in the Ancient Near East and Beyond. Papers Read at a Symposium in Leiden, 17–19 December 2008*. Edited by W. S. van Egmond and W. H. van Soldt. Leiden: NINO.

Finkelstein, Jacob J. 1966. "The Genealogy of the Hammurapi Dynasty." *JCS* 20: 95–118.

Fishbane, Michael. 2005. *Biblical Myth and Rabbinic Mythmaking*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Fleming, Daniel E. 1993. "Dagan and Itur-Mer at Mari." *NABU* 2.

———. 2000. *Time at Emar: The Cultic Calendar and the Rituals From the Diviner's Archive*. MC 11. Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns.

———. 2004. *Democracy's Ancient Ancestors: Mari and Early Collective Governance*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Foster, Benjamin R. 2005. *Before the Muses: An Anthology of Akkadian Literature*. Third edition. Bethesda: CDL Press.

———. 2016. "On Speculative Thought in Ancient Mesopotamia." Pp. 89–104 in *The Adventure of the Human Intellect: Self, Society, and the Divine in Ancient World Cultures*. Edited by K. A. Raaflaub. Malden: Wiley Blackwell.

Frankfort, Henri, Henriette A. Frankfort, John A. Wilson, Thorkild Jacobsen, and William A. Irwin. 1946. *The Intellectual Adventure of Ancient Man: An Essay on Speculative Thought in the Ancient Near East*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Freu, Jacques. 2003. "De La Confrontation à l'entente cordiale: Les Relations assyro-hittites à la fin de l'âge du Bronze (ca. 1250–1180 av. J.C.)." Pp. 101–18 in *Hittite Studies in Honor of Harry A. Hoffner, Jr., on the Occasion of His 65th Birthday*. Edited by G. Beckman, R. Beal, and G. McMahon. Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns.

———. 2007. "La Bataille de Niḫriia, RS 34.165, KBo 4.14 et la correspondance assyro-hittite." Pp. 271–92 in *Tabularia Hethaeorum: Hethitologische Beiträge Silvin Košak zum 65. Geburtstag*. Edited by D. Groddek and M. Zorman. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

Fronzaroli, Pelio. 1997. "Les Combats de Hadda dans les textes d'Ébla." *MARI* 8: 283–90.

———. 2003. "The Hail Incantation (ARET 5,4)." Pp. 89–107 in *Fs. B. Kienast*. Edited by G. J. Selz. AOAT 274. Münster: Ugarit-Verlag.

Galvin, Garrett. 2011. *Egypt as a Place of Refuge*. FAT 51. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck.

Geertz, Clifford. 1973. "The Growth of Culture and the Evolution of Mind." Pp. 55–83 in *The Interpretation of Cultures*. New York: Basic Books.

George, Andrew R. 2003. *The Babylonian Gilgamesh Epic: Introduction, Critical Edition and Cuneiform Texts*. 2 vols. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Gesche, Petra D. 2000. *Schulunterricht in Babylonien im ersten Jahrtausend v. Chr*. AOAT 275. Münster: Ugarit-Verlag.

Gianto, Agustinus. 2012. "Ugaritic." Pp. 28–54 in *Languages From the World of the Bible*. Edited by Holger Gzella. Berlin: De Gruyter.

Gilan, Amir. 2007. "How Many Princes Can the Land Bear? Some Thoughts on the Zalpa Text." *SMEA* 49: 305–18.

Ginzburg, Carlo. 2001. "Making It Strange: The Prehistory of a Literary Device." Pp. 1–23 and 181–7 in *Wooden Eyes: Nine Reflections on Distance*. Translated by M. Ryle and K. Soper. New York: Columbia University Press.

———. 2010. "Mircea Eliade's Ambivalent Legacy." Pp. 307–23 in *Hermeneutics, Politics, and the History of Religions: The Continuing Legacies of Joachim Wach & Mircea Eliade*. Edited by C. K. Wedemeyer and W. Doniger. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Giorgieri, Mauro. 2006. "La Babilonia cassita e il regno medio-assiro." Pp. 269–341 in *Storia d'Europa e del Mediterraneo. Il mondo antico. Sezione I: La preistoria dell'uomo e l'Oriente mediterraneo, vol. 2: Le civiltà dell'Oriente mediterraneo*. Edited by S. de Martino. Rome: Salerno.

———. 2011. "Das Verhältnis Assyriens zum Hethiterreich." Pp. 169–90 in *Assur – Gott, Stadt und Land: 5. Internationales Colloquium der Deutschen Oreint-Gesellschaft, 18.-21. Februar 2004 in Berlin*. Edited by J. Renger. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

Giorgieri, Mauro and Clelia Mora. 1996. *Aspetti della regalità ittita nel XIII secolo a.C*. Como: Edizioni New Press.

———. 2010. "Kingship in Ḫatti During the 13th Century: Forms of Rule and Struggles for Power Before the Fall of the Empire." Pp. 136–57 in *Pax Hethitica: Studies on the Hittites and Their Neighbours in Honour of Itamar Singer*. Edited by Y. Cohen, A. Gilan, and J. L. Miller. StBoT 51. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

Goedegebuure, Petra. 2012. "Hittite Iconoclasm: Disconnecting the Icon. Disempowering the Referent." Pp. 407–52 in *Iconoclasm and Text Destruction in the Ancient Near East and Beyond*. Edited by N. N. May. Oriental Institute Seminars 8. Chicago: Oriental Institute.

Gordon, Peter E. 2010. *Continental Divide: Heidegger, Cassirer, Davos*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Graf, Fritz. 2004. "Myth." Pp. 45–58 in *Religions of the Ancient World: A Guide*. Edited by S. I. Johnston. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Greenfield, Jonas C. 1987. "The Hebrew Bible and Canaanite Literature." Pp. 545–60 in *The Literary Guide to the Bible*. Edited by R. Alter and F. Kermode. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

———. 2001. *'Al Kanfei Yonah: Collected Studies of Jonas C. Greenfield on Semitic Philology*. 2 vols. Edited by S. M. Paul, M. E. Stone, and A. Pinnick. Leiden: Brill.

Greenstein, Edward L. 2006. "Forms and Functions of the Finite Verb in Ugaritic Narrative Verse." Pp. 75–102 in *Biblical Hebrew in Historical Perspectives*. Edited by S. Fassberg and A. Hurvitz. Publications of the Institute of Advanced Studies, The Hebrew University of Jerusalem 1. Jerusalem: Magnes Press.

———. 2014. "Review of Dennis Pardee, 'The Ugaritic Texts and the Origins of West Semitic Literary Composition'." *BASOR* 371: 215–18.

Gröndahl, Frauke. 1967. *Die Personennamen der Texte aus Ugarit*. Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute.

Gunkel, Hermann. 2006. *Creation and Chaos in the Primeval Era and the Eschaton: A Religio-Historical Study of Genesis 1 and Revelation 12*. Translated by K. William Whitney, Jr. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans.

———. 2009. *Israel and Babylon: The Babylonian Influence on Israelite Religion*. Edited by K. C. Hanson. Eugene: Wipf & Stock.

Gzella, Holger. 2010. "Linguistic Variation in the Ugaritic Letters." Pp. 58–70 in *Society and Administration in Ancient Ugarit*. Edited by W. H. van Soldt. PIHANS 64. Leiden: NINO.

Habermas, Jürgen. 2001. "The Liberating Power of Symbols: Ernst Cassirer's Humanistic Legacy and the Warburg Library." Pp. 1–29 in *The Liberating Power of Symbols: Philosophical Essays*. Translated by P. Dews. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

———. 2011. "'The Political': The Rational Meaning of a Questionable Inheritance of Political Theology." Pp. 15–33 in *The Power of Religion in the Public Sphere*. Edited by E. Mendieta and J. VanAntwerpen. New York: Columbia University Press.

Habermas, Jürgen and Joseph Ratzinger. 2006. *The Dialectics of Secularization: On Reason and Religion*. Translated by Brian McNeil. San Francisco: Ignatius Press.

Handy, Lowell K. 1994. *Among the Host of Heaven: The Syro-Palestinian Pantheon as Bureaucracy*. Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns.

Harrak, Amir. 1998. "Sources epigraphiques concernant les rapports entre Assyriens et Hittites a l'Âge du Bronze récent." Pp. 239–52 in *XXXIV^ème^ Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale*. Edited by H. Erkanal, V. Donbaz, and A. Uguroglu. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basimevi.

Hawkins, David. 1995. *The Hieroglyphic Inscriptions of the Sacred Pool Complex at Hattusa (SÜDBURG)*. StBoT Beiheft 3. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

———. 2001. "Urhi-Tešub, *tuhkanti*." Pp. 167–79 in *Akten des IV. Internationalen Kongresses für Hethitologie*. Edited by G. Wilhelm. StBoT 45. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

———. 2006. "Tuthaliya the Hunter." Pp. 49–76 in *The Life and Times of Ḫattušili III and Tutḫaliya IV: Proceedings of a Symposium Held in Honour of J. de Roos, 12–13 December 2003, Leiden*. Edited by Th. P. J. van den Hout. PIHANS 103. Leiden: NINO.

———. 2011. "The Seals and the Dynasty." Pp. 85–102 in *Die Siegel der Grosskönige und Grossköniginnen auf Tonbullen aus dem Nişantepe-Archiv in Hattusa*. Edited by S. Herbordt, D. Bawanypeck, and J. D. Hawkins. Darmstadt/Mainz: Verlag Philipp von Zabern.

Hawley, Robert. 2003. *Studies in Ugaritic Epistolography*. Ph.D. diss., University of Chicago.

———. 2008. "On the Alphabetic Scribal Culture at Ugarit." Pp. 57–68 in *Proceedings of the 51st Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale Held at the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, July 18–22, 2005*. Edited by R. D. Biggs, J. Myers, and M. T. Roth. Chicago: Oriental Institute.

———. 2010. "Household Metaphors in the Epistolary Traditions of Ugarit." Pp. 71–83 in *Society and Administration in Ancient Ugarit*. Edited by W. H. van Soldt. PIHANS 64. Leiden: NINO.

Hawley, Robert, Dennis Pardee, and Carole Roche-Hawley. 2016. "The Scribal Culture of Ugarit." *Journal of Ancient Near Eastern History* 2: 229–67.

Healey, John F. 1985. "The Akkadian 'Pantheon' List From Ugarit." *SEL* 2: 115–25.

Heidegger, Martin. 1962. *Being and Time*. Translated J. Macquarrie and E. Robinson. Oxford: Blackwell.

———. 1997. "Review of Ernst Cassirer, *Philosophy of Symbolic Forms*. Part Two: *Mythical Thought*." Pp. 180–90 in *Kant and the Problem of Metaphysics*. Fifth edition, enlarged. Translated by R. Taft. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Heimpel, Wolfgang. 2003. *Letters to the King of Mari: A New Translation, With Historical Introduction, Notes, and Commentary*. Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns.

Heltzer, Michael. 1982. *The Internal Organization of the Kingdom of Ugarit*. Wiesbaden: Dr. Ludwig Reichert Verlag.

Hess, Richard S. 1993. *Amarna Personal Names*. Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns.

Hillers, Delbert R. 1985. "Analyzing the Abominable: Our Understanding of Canaanite Religion." *The Jewish Quarterly Review* 75: 253–69.

Hobbes, Thomas. 1991. *Leviathan*. Edited by R. Tuck. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Hoch, James E. 1994. *Semitic Words in Egyptian Texts of the New Kingdom and Third Intermediate Period*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Hoffner, Harry A. Jr. 1990. *Hittite Myths*. Edited by G. Beckman. SBLWAW 2. Atlanta: Scholars Press.

———. 2009. *Letters From the Hittite Kingdom*. Edited by G. Beckman. SBLWAW 15. Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature.

Hornung, Erik. 1982. *Conceptions of God in Ancient Egypt: The One and the Many*. Translated by J. Baines. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

———. 1997. "The Pharaoh." Pp. 283–314 in *The Egyptians*. Edited by S. Donadoni. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Horowitz, Wayne. 1998. *Mesopotamian Cosmic Geography*. Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns.

Horwitz, W. J. 1973. "A Study of Ugaritic Scribal Practices and Prosody in CTA 2:4." *UF* 5: 165–73.

———. 1977. "Our Ugaritic Mythological Texts: Copied or Dictated?" *UF* 9: 123–30.

Houwink ten Cate, Philo H. J. 1992. "The Hittite Storm God: His Role and His Rule According to Hittite Cuneiform Sources." Pp. 83–148 in *Natural Phenomena: Their Meaning, Depiction and Description in the Ancient Near East*. Edited by D. J. W. Meijer. Amsterdam: Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen.

Huehnergard, John. 1989. *The Akkadian of Ugarit*. HSS 34. Atlanta: Scholars Press.

———. 2008. *Ugaritic Vocabulary in Syllabic Transcription*. Revised edition. HSS 32. Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns.

Huehnergard, John and Rebecca Hasselbach. 2007. "Northwest Semitic Languages." Pp. 408–22 in *Encyclopedia of Arabic Language and Linguistics*. Vol. 3. Edited by K. Versteegh. Leiden: Brill.

Huffmon, Herbert B. 1965. *Amorite Personal Names in the Mari Texts: A Structural and Lexical Study*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.

Hutson, Lorna. 2009. "Imagining Justice: Kantorowicz and Shakespeare." *Representations* 106: 118–42.

Izre'el, Shlomo. 1991. *Amurru Akkadian: A Linguistic Study*. 2 vols. Atlanta: Scholars.

Izre'el, Shlomo and Itamar Singer. 1990. *The General's Letter From Ugarit: A Linguistic and Historical Reevaluation of RS 20.33*. Tel Aviv: Tel Aviv University Press.

Jacobsen, Thorkild. 1943. "Primitive Democracy in Ancient Mesopotamia." *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 2: 159–72.

———. 1957. "Early Political Development in Mesopotamia." *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* 52: 91–140.

———. 1976. *The Treasures of Darkness: A History of Mesopotamian Religion*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

———. 1984. *The Harab Myth*. SANE 2/3. Malibu: Undena.

Jameson, Fredric. 1998. *Brecht and Method*. London: Verso.

Jaspers, Karl. 1953. *The Origin and Goal of History*. Translated by M. Bullock. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Joas, Hans. 2012. "The Axial Age Debate as Religious Discourse." Pp. 9–29 in *The Axial Age and Its Consequences*. Edited by R. Bellah and H. Joas. Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press.

Johnson, Dylan. 2014. "Redemption at Ugarit: *KTU* 3.4 in Light of Akkadian Legal Traditions at Ugarit." *UF* 45: 209–25.

Joosten, Jan. 2016. "Diachronic Linguistic and the Date of the Pentateuch." Pp. 327–44 in *The Formation of the Pentateuch: Bridging the Academic Cultures of Europe, Israel, and North America*. Edited by J. C. Gertz, B. M. Levinson, D. Rom-Shiloni, and K. Schmid. FAT 111. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck.

Juloux, Vanessa. 2016. “Prolégomènes à l’étude des relations de pouvoir entre les entités animées dans KTU 1.1–6. Cadre relationnel de ‘Anatu et Ba‘lu.” *Res Antiquae* 13: 123–64.

Kahn, Victoria. 2014. *The Future of Illusion: Political Theology and Early Modern Texts*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Kantorowicz, Ernst H. 1957. *The King’s Two Bodies: A Study in Mediaeval Political Theology*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Kany, Roland. 2004. “Hermann Usener as Historian of Religion.” *Archiv für Religionsgeschichte* 6: 159–76.

Kapelrud, Avrid S. 1963. *The Ras Shamra Discoveries and the Old Testament*. Translated by G. W. Anderson. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.

Kaufmann, Yehezkel. 1972. *The Religion of Israel: From Its Beginnings to the Babylonian Exile*. Translated and abridged by M. Greenberg. New York: Schocken.

Klengel, Horst. 2002. “ ‘An der Hand der Gottheit’: Bemerkungen zur ‘Umarmungsszene’ in der hethitischen Tradition.” Pp. 205–10 in *Silvia Anatolica: Anatolian Studies Presented to Maciej Popko on the Occasion of His 65th Birthday*. Edited by P. Taracha. Warsaw: Agade.

Knudtzon, Jørgen A. 1915. *Die El-Amarna-Tafeln*. 2 vols. Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs.

Korpel, Marjo C. A. 1998. “Exegesis in the Work of Ilimilku of Ugarit.” Pp. 86–111 in *Intertextuality in Ugarit and Israel: Papers Read at the Tenth Joint Meeting of the Society for Old Testament Study at Het Oudtestamentisch Werkgezelschap in Nederland en Belgie held at Oxford*, *1997*. Edited by J. C. de Moor. Leiden: Brill.

Kühne, Cord. 1973. *Die Chronologie der internationalen Korrespondenz von El-Amarna*. AOAT 17. Kevelaer: Butzon & Bercker; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag.

Kupper, Jean-Robert. 1998. *Lettres royales du temps de Zimri-Lim*. ARM 28. Paris: Éditions Recherches sur les Civilisations.

———. 2002. “Dans les jardins de Carkémish.” *FM* 6: 195–200.

Lackenbacher, Sylvie. 2002. *Textes akkadiens d’Ugarit*. LAPO 20. Paris: Cerf.

Lafont, Bertrand. 1984. “Le Roi de Mari et les prophètes du dieu Adad.” *RA* 78: 7–18.

———. 2001. “Relations internationales, alliances et diplomatie au temps des royaumes amorrites.” Pp. 213–328 in *Amurru 2: Mari, Ébla et les hourrites, dix ans de travaux*. Second Part. Edited by J.-M. Durand and D. Charpin. Paris: Éditions Recherche sur les Civilisations.

Lambert, Wilfred G. 1978. “The Mesopotamian Background of the Hurrian Pantheon.” *RHA* 36: 129–34.

———. 1985. “The Pantheon of Mari.” *MARI* 4: 525–39.

———. 2013. *Babylonian Creation Myths*. Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns.

Laroche, Emile. 1974. “Les Dénominations des dieux ‘antiques’ dans les textes hittites.” Pp. 175–85 in *Anatolian Studies Presented to Hans Gustav Güterbock on the Occasion of His 65th Birthday*. Edited by K. Bittel and E. Reiner. Istanbul: Nederlands Historisch-Archaeologisch Institut in het Nabije Oosten.

Larsen, Mogens Trolle. 1987. “The Mesopotamian Lukewarm Mind: Reflections on Science, Divination, and Literacy.” Pp. 203–25 in *Language, Literature, and History: Philological and Historical Studies Presented to Erica Reiner*. Edited by F. Rochberg-Halton. New Haven: American Oriental Society.

Layton, Scott C. 1990. *Archaic Features of Canaanite Personal Names in the Hebrew Bible*. HSM 47. Atlanta: Scholars Press.

Lear, Jonathan. 2006a. “Allegory and Myth in Plato’s *Republic*.” Pp. 25–43 in *The Blackwell’s Guide to Plato’s Republic*. Edited by G. Santas. Malden: Blackwell.

———. 2006b. *Radical Hope: Ethics in the Face of Cultural Devastation*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
———. 2017. *Wisdom Won From Illness: Essays in Philosophy and Psychoanalysis*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
Lebrun, Charlotte. 2014. *Présence et pouvoir hittites à Ougarit: Le cas des DUMU. LUGAL*. Louvain: Institut Orientaliste.
Lemaire, André. 1993. "Ougarit, Oura et la Cilicie vers la fin de XII^{e} s. av. J.-C." *UF* 25: 227–36.
Levine, Emily J. 2013. *Dreamland of Humanists: Warburg, Cassirer, Panofsky, and the Hamburg School*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
Lewis, Theodore J. 1989. *Cults of the Dead in Ancient Israel and Ugarit*. HSM 39. Atlanta: Scholars.
———. 2011. "Athtartu's Incantations and the Use of Divine Names as Weapons." *JNES* 70: 207–27.
Lilla, Mark. 2007. *The Stillborn God: Religion, Politics, and the Modern West*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf.
Lincoln, Bruce. 1994. *Authority: Construction and Corrosion*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
———. 1999. *Theorizing Myth: Narrative, Ideology, and Scholarship*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
Litke, Richard L. 1998. *A Reconstruction of the Assyro-Babylonian God-Lists, AN:* ^{d}*A-nu-um and AN: Anu šá amēli*. New Haven: Yale.
Liverani, Mario. 1962. *Storia di Ugarit nell'eta degli archivi politici*. Studi Semitici 6. Rome: Centro di Studici Semitici.
———. 1970. "L'epica ugaritica nel suo contesto storico e letterario." Pp. 859–69 in *La poesia epica e la formazione*. Rome: Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei.
———. 1999. *Le lettere di el-Amarna*. 2 vols. Brescia: Paideia.
———. 2000. "The Great Powers Club." Pp. 15–27 and 237–9 in *Amarna Diplomacy: The Beginnings of International Relations*. Edited by R. Cohen and R. Westbrook. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.
———. 2001. *International Relations in the Ancient Near East, 1600–1100 BC*. New York: Palgrave.
———. 2004. *Myth and Politics in Ancient Near Eastern Historiography*. Edited by Z. Bahrani and M. Van De Mieroop. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
———. 2005. *Israel's History and the History of Israel*. Sheffield: Equinox.
López-Ruiz, Carolina. 2010. *When the Gods Were Born: Greek Cosmogonies and the Near East*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
———. 2014. "Greek and Near Eastern Mythology: A Story of Mediterranean Encounters." Pp. 154–99 in *Approaches to Greek Myth*. Edited by L. Edmunds. Second edition. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.
Machinist, Peter. 1986. "On Self-Consciousness in Mesopotamia." Pp. 183–202 and 511–18 in *The Origins and Diversity of Axial Age Civilizations*. Edited by S. N. Eisenstadt. Albany: State University of New York Press.
———. 2001. *Mesopotamia in Eric Voegelin's Order and History*. Occasional Papers Eric-Voegelin-Archiv 26. Munich: Eric-Voegelin-Archiv.
———. 2016. "*The Intellectual Adventure of Ancient Man*: Revisiting a Classic." Pp. 29–72 in *The Adventure of the Human Intellect: Self, Society, and the Divine in Ancient World Cultures*. Edited by K. A. Raaflaub. Malden: Wiley Blackwell.
Malamat, Abraham. 1989. *Mari and the Early Israelite Experience*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Malbran-Labat, Florence. 1996. “Akkadien, bilingues et bilinguisme.” Pp. 56–61 in *Mosaïque de langues, mosaïque culturelle: Le Bilinguisme dans le Proche-Orient ancien*. Edited by F. Briquel-Chatonnet. Paris: J. Maisonneuve.

———. 1999. “Langues et écritures à Ougarit.” *Semitica* 49: 82–101.

———. 2008. “Catalogue raisonné des textes akkdiens de la Maison d’Urtēnu.” Pp. 21–38 in *D’Ougarit à Jérusalem: Recueil d’études épigraphiques et archéologiques offert à Pierre Bordreuil*. Edited by Carole Roche. Orient & Méditerranée 2. Paris: De Boccard.

Malbran-Labat, Florence and Carole Roche. 2007. “Urtēnu Urtešub.” Pp. 63–104 in *Le Royaume d’Ougarit de la Crète à l’Euphrate. Nouveaux axes de recherche. Actes du congrès international de Sherbrooke 2005*. Edited by J.-M. Michaud. Collection Proche-Orient et Littérature Ougaritique 2. Sherbrooke: G.G.C. Editions.

Marchand, Suzanne L. 2009. *German Orientalism in the Age of Empire: Religion, Race, and Scholarship*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Marquez Rowe, Ignacio. 2005. “Review of M. Yon and D. Arnaud, eds., *Études ougaritiques*, I. *Travaux 1985–1995*.” *Orientalia* NS 74: 143.

Masetti-Rouault, Maria Grazia. 2013. “Écritures, cultures et mythes: ‘Globalisation’ des saviors et construction d’une identité locale à Ougarit.” Pp. 19–31 in *Les écritures mises au jour sur le site antique d’Ougarit (Syrie) et leur déchiffrement*. Edited by P. Bordreuil, F. Ernst-Pradal, M. G. Masetti-Rouault, H. Rouillard-Bonraisin, and M. Zink. Paris: Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres.

Matthiae, Paolo. 1992. “Some Notes on the Old Syrian Iconography of the God Yam.” Pp. 169–92 in *Natural Phenomena: Their Meaning, Depiction and Description in the Ancient Near East*. Edited by D. J. W. Meijer. Amsterdam: Royal Netherlands Academy of Arts and Sciences.

McCutcheon, Russell T. 2000. “Methods, Theories, and the Terrors of History: Closing the Eliadean Era With Some Dignity.” Pp. 11–24 in *Changing Religious Worlds: The Meaning and End of Mircea Eliade*. Edited by B. Rennie. Albany: State University of New York Press.

Meier, Samuel A. 1988. *The Messenger in the Ancient Semitic World*. HSM 45. Atlanta: Scholars.

Meslin, Michel. 2007. “The Sacralization of Time in the Thought of Mircea Eliade.” Pp. 15–22 in *The International Eliade*. Edited by B. Rennie. Albany: State University of New York Press.

Michalowski, Piotr. 1990. “Presence at the Creation.” Pp. 381–96 in *Lingering Over Words: Studies in Ancient Near Eastern Literature in Honor of William L. Moran*. Edited by T. Abusch, J. Huehnergard, and P. Steinkeller. HSS 37. Atlanta: Scholars.

———. 2005. “Mesopotamian Vistas on Axial Transformations.” Pp. 157–81 in *Axial Civilization and World History*. Edited by J. P. Arnason, S. N. Eisdenstadt, and B. Wittrock. Leiden: Brill.

Miller, Jared L. 2007. “Amarna Chronology and the Identity of Nibḫururiya in the Light of a Newly Reconstructed Hittite Text.” *AoF* 34: 252–93.

———. 2008. “The Rebellion of Ḫatti’s Syrian Vassals and Egypt’s Meddling in Amurru.” *SMEA* 50: 533–54.

———. 2013. *Royal Hittite Instructions and Related Administrative Texts*. SBLWAW 33. Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature.

Momigliano, Arnaldo. 1975. *Alien Wisdom: The Limits of Hellenization*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Montet, Pierre. 1931–33. “La Stèle de l’an 400 retrouvé.” *Kêmi* 4: 191–215.

Mora, Clelia and Mauro Giorgieri. 2004. *Le Llettere tra i re ittiti e i re assiri ritrovate a Ḫattuša*. Padua: Sargon.

Moran, William L. 1963. "The Ancient Near Eastern Background of the Love of God in Deuteronomy." *CBQ* 25: 77–87.

———. 1992. *The Amarna Letters*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.

Most, Glenn W. 2011. "What Ancient Quarrel Between Philosophy and Poetry?" Pp. 1–20 in *Plato and the Poets*. Edited by P. Destrée and F.-G. Herrmann. Leiden: Brill.

Mynářová, Jana. 2007. *Language of Amarna – Language of Diplomacy: Perspectives on the Amarna Letters*. Prague: Czech Institute of Egyptology.

Na'aman, Nadav. 1988. "Biryawaza of Damascus and the Date of the Kāmid el-Lōz Apiru Letters." *UF* 20: 179–94.

Nagy, Gregory. 1979. *The Best of the Achaeans: Concepts of the Hero in Archaic Greek Poetry*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.

———. 1990. *Greek Mythology and Poetics*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

Nestle, Wilhelm. 1940. *Vom Mythos zu Logos: Die Selbstentfaltung des griechischen Denkens von Homer bis auf die Sophistik und Sokrates*. Stuttgart: Alfred Kröner.

Niehr, Herbert. 2007. "The Topography of Death in the Royal Palace of Ugarit: Preliminary Thoughts on the Basis of Archaeological and Textual Data." Pp. 219–42 in *Le Royaume d'Ougarit de la Crète à l'Euphrate: Nouveaux Axes de recherche. Actes du congrès international de Sherbrooke 2005*. Edited by J.-M. Michaud. Collection Proche-Orient et Littérature Ougaritique 2. Sherbrooke: G.G.C. Editions.

———. 2016. "Ahnen und Ahnenkult in den Königsepen aus Ugarit." Pp. 379–400 in *Zwischen Zion und Zaphon: Studien im Gedenken an den Theologen Oswald Loretz (14.01.1928–12.04.2014)*. Edited by L. Hiepel and M.-T. Wacker. Münster: Ugarit-Verlag.

Nietzsche, Friedrich. 2005. *The Anti-Christ, Ecce Homo, Twilight of the Gods and Other Writings*. Edited by A. Ridley and J. Norman. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Nissinen, Martti. 2003. *Prophets and Prophecy in the Ancient Near East*. SBLWAW 12. Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature.

Nongbri, Brent. 2013. *Before Religion: A History of a Modern Concept*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Notarius, Tania. 2013. *The Verb in Archaic Biblical Poetry: A Discursive, Typological, and Historical Investigation of the Tense System*. Leiden: Brill.

Oldenburg, Ulf. 1969. *The Conflict Between El and Ba'al in Canaanite Religion*. Supplementa ad Numen, altera series, dissertantiones ad historiam religionum pertinentes 3. Leiden: Brill.

Oppenheim, A. Leo. 1964. *Ancient Mesopotamia: Portrait of a Dead Civilization*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

———. 1975. "The Position of the Intellectual in Mesopotamian Society." *Daedalus* 104: 37–46.

Ortlund, Eric. 2010. *Theophany and Chaoskampf: The Interpretation of Theophanic Imagery in the Baal Epic, Isaiah, and the Twelve*. Piscataway: Gorgias Press.

Pardee, Dennis. 1975. "The Preposition in Ugaritic [part one]." *UF* 7: 329–78.

———. 1976. "The Preposition in Ugaritic [part two]." *UF* 8: 215–322.

———. 1998. "Review of Mark S. Smith, *The Ugaritic Baal Cycle*." *JNES* 57: 46–8.

———. 2000. *Les Textes Rituels*. 2 vols. RSO 12. Paris: Éditions Recherche sur les Civilisations.

———. 2001a. "Le Traité d'alliance RS 11.772+." *Semitica* 51: 5–31.

———. 2001b. "Review of A. R. Petersen, *The Royal God*." *JNES* 60: 294–5.

———. 2002. *Ritual and Cult at Ugarit*. SBLWAW 10. Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature.

———. 2003. "Review of F. M. Cross, *From Epic to Canon*." *JNES* 62: 133–7.

———. 2007a. "La Première Tablette du cycle de Ba'lu (RS 3.361 [*CTA* 1]): mise au point épigraphique." Pp. 105–30 in *Le Royaume d'Ougarit de la Crète à l'Euphrate: Nouveaux Axes de recherche. Actes du congrès international de Sherbrooke 2005*. Edited by J.-M. Michaud. Collection Proche-Orient et Littérature Ougaritique 2. Sherbrooke: G.G.C. Editions.

———. 2007b. "RS 3.367, Colonne 'IV': Étude épigraphique suivie de quelques remarques philologiques." Pp. 227–47 in *"He Unfurrowed His Brow and Laughed": Essays in Honour of Professor Nicolas Wyatt*. Edited by W. G. E. Watson. AOAT 299. Münster: Ugarit-Verlag.

———. 2007c. "The Ugaritic Alphabetic Cuneiform Writing System in the Context of Other Alphabetic Systems." Pp. 181–200 in *Studies in Semitic and Afroasiatic Linguistics Presented to Gene B. Gragg*. Edited by C. L. Miller. Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization 60. Chicago: Oriental Institute.

———. 2010. "RS 15.117 et l'origine de l'alphabet cunéiforme d'Ougarit: Rapport de collation." *OR* 79: 59–73.

———. 2011. "Ugaritic." Pp. 460–72 in *The Semitic Languages: An International Handbook*. Edited by Stefan Weninger. Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton.

———. 2012. *The Ugaritic Texts and the Origins of West Semitic Literary Composition*. The Schweich Lectures of the British Academy. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

———. 2014. "L'Autorité littéraire au XIII^{e} siècle av. J.-C.? *'Ilîmilku* d'Ougarit: Scribe/Auteur?" Pp. 35–57 in *Autorités des auteurs antiques. Entre anonymat, masque et authenticité*. Edited by M. Gorea and M. Tardieu. Turnhout: Brepols.

———. 2015. "Nouvelle attestation de *prln* 'devin' en ougaritique." *Orient & Méditerranée* 16: 171–6.

Pardee, Dennis and Caroline Sauvage. 2015. "L'Itinéraire maritime d'une reine d'Ougarit: Note sur le texte RS 94.2406." *Syria* 92: 239–54.

Pecchioli Daddi, Franca. 1977. "Il ^{LÚ}KARTAPPU nel regno ittita." *Studi Classici e Orientali* 27: 169–91.

———. 2006. "The System of Government at the Time of Tutḫaliya IV." Pp. 117–30 in *The Life and Times of Ḫattušili III and Tutḫaliya IV: Proceedings of a Symposium Held in Honor of J. de Roos, 12–13 December 2003, Leiden*. Edited by Th. P. J. van den Hout. PIHANS 103. Leiden: NINO.

Pentiuc, Eugen J. 2001. *West Semitic Vocabulary in the Akkadian Texts From Emar*. HSS 49. Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns.

Petersen, Allan Rosengren. 1998. *The Royal God: Enthronement Festivals in Ancient Israel and Ugarit?* JSOTSup 259. Copenhagen International Seminar 5. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press.

Pippin, Robert B. 2010. *Hollywood Westerns and American Myth: The Importance of Howard Hawks and John Ford for Political Philosophy*. New Haven: Yale.

Pitard, Wayne. 2008. "Watch That Margin! Understanding the Scribal Peculiarities of *CAT* 1.4 Obverse." *Maarav* 15: 27–37.

———. 2013. "The Combat Myth as a Succession Story at Ugarit." Pp. 199–205 in *Creation and Chaos: A Reconsideration of Hermann Gunkel's Chaoskampf Hypothesis*. Edited by J. Scurlock and R. H. Beal. Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns.

Pollock, Sheldon. 2006. *The Language of the Gods in the World of Men: Sanskrit, Culture, and Power in Premodern India*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Pongratz-Leisten, Beate. 1994. *Ina s?ulmi īrub: Die kulttopographische und ideologische Programmatik der akītu-Prozession in Babylonien und Assyrien im 1. Jahrtausend v. Chr*. Baghdader Forschungen 16. Mainz am Rhein: von Zabern.

Rahmouni, Aicha. 2008. *Divine Epithets in the Ugaritic Alphabetic Texts*. Translated by J. N. Ford. Leiden: Brill.

Rainey, Anson. 1963. "A Canaanite at Ugarit." *Israel Exploration Journal* 13: 43–5.

———. 1971. "A Front Line Report From Amurru." *UF* 3: 131–49.

———. 2015. *The El-Amarna Correspondence: A New Edition of the Cuneiform Letters From the Site of El-Amarna Based on Collations of All Extant Tablets*. 2 vols. Edited by W. Schiedewind and Z. Cochavi-Rainey. HdO 110. Leiden: Brill.

Ranke, Hermann. 1935. *Die Ägyptischen Personennamen*. Vol. 1. Glückstadt: J. J. Augustin.

Ranulf, Svend. 1939. "Scholarly Forerunners of Fascism." *Ethics* 50: 16–34.

Redford, Donald B. 1990. "The Sea and the Goddess." Pp. 824–35 in *Studies in Egyptology Presented to Miriam Lichtheim*. Edited by S. Israelit-Groll. Jerusalem: Magnes.

Robson, Eleanor. 2001. "The Tablet House: A Scribal School in Old Babylonian Nippur." *RA* 95: 39–66.

Rochberg, Francesca. 2014. "The History of Science and Ancient Mesopotamia." *JANEH* 1: 37–60.

———. 2016. *Before Nature: Cuneiform Knowledge and the History of Science*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Roche, Carol. 2008. "Classification de l'utilisation du cunéiforme mésopotamien dans les textes ougaritiques." Pp. 155–70 in *Proceedings of the 51st Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale*. Edited by R. D. Biggs, J. Meyers, and M. Roth. Chicago: Oriental Institute.

———. 2010. "Language and Script in the Akkadian Economic Texts From Ras Shamra." Pp. 107–22 in *Society and Administration in Ancient Ugarit*. Edited by W. H. van Soldt. PIHANS 64. Leiden: NINO.

Roche-Hawley, Carole and Robert Hawley. 2013. "An Essay on Scribal Families, Tradition, and Innovation in Thirteenth Century Ugarit." Pp. 241–64 in *Beyond Hatti: A Tribute to Gary Beckman*. Edited by B. J. Collins and P. Michalowski. Atlanta: Lockwood Press.

Rorty, Richard. 1989. *Contingency, Irony, and Solidarity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Rutherford, Ian. 2001. "The Song of the Sea (*ŠA* A.AB.BA SÌR): Thoughts on KUB 45.63." Pp. 598–609 in *Akten des IV. Internationalen Kongresses für Hethitologie*. Edited by G. Wilhelm. StBoT 45. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

Sahlins, Marshall. 2013. *What Kinship Is . . . And Is Not*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Salles, Jean-François. 1995. "Rituel mortuaire et rituel social à Ras Shamra/Ougarit." Pp. 171–84 in *The Archaeology of Death in the Ancient Near East*. Edited by S. Campbell and A. Green. Oxbow Monographs in Archaeology 51. Oxford: Oxbow.

Sanders, Seth L. 2004. "Performative Utterances and Divine Language in Ugaritic." *JNES* 63: 161–81.

———. 2009. *The Invention of Hebrew*. Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press.

———. 2012. "Naming the Dead: Funerary Writing and Historical Change in the Iron Age Levant." *Maarav* 19: 11–36.

———. 2017. *From Adapa to Enoch: Scribal Culture and Religious Vision in Judea and Babylon*. TSAJ 167. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck.

Sasson, Jack M. 1985. "Yarim-Lim's War Declaration." Pp. 237–55 in *Miscellanea Babylonica: Mélanges offerts à Maurice Birot*. Edited by J.-M. Durand and J.-R. Kupper. Paris: Éditions Recherche sur les Civilisations.

———. 1994. "The Posting of Letters With Divine Messages." *FM* 2: 299–316.

———. 1998. "The King and I: A Mari King in Changing Perspective." *JAOS* 118: 453–70.

———. 2006. "Utopian and Dystopian Images in Mari Prophetic Texts." Pp. 27–40 in *Utopia and Dystopia in Prophetic Literature*. Edited by E. Ben Zvi. Helsinki: Finnish Exegetical Society; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.

———. 2007. "Scruples: Extradition in the Mari Archives." Pp. 453–73 in *Festschrift für Hermann Hunger, zum 65. Geburtstag gewidmet von seinen Freunden, Kollegen, und Schülern*. Edited by M. Köhbach, S. Procházka, G. J. Selz, and R. Lohlker. WZKM 97. Vienna: Selbstverlags des Instituts für Orientalistik.

Sauvage, Caroline and Dennis Pardee. 2015. "L'Itinéraire d'une reine d'Ougarit: Note sur le texte RS 94.2406." *Syria* 92: 239–54.

Schaeffer, Claude F. A. 1929. "Les Fouilles de Minet-el-Beida et de Ras Shamra (Campagne du printemps 1929)." *Syria* 10: 285–97.

———. 1956. "La Première Tablette." *Syria* 33: 161–8.

Schelling, Friedrich W. J. 2007. *Historical-Critical Introduction to the Philosophy of Mythology*. Translated by M. Richey and M. Zisselsberger. Albany: State University of New York Press.

Schloen, J. David. 2001. *The House of the Father as Fact and Symbol: Patrimonialism in Ugarit and the Ancient Near East*. Studies in the Archaeology and History of the Levant 2. Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns.

Schneider, Thomas. 1992. *Asiatische Personennamen in ägyptischen Quellen des Neuen Reiches*. OBO 114. Freiburg: Universitätsverlag; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht.

———. 2003. "Texte über den syrischen Wettergott aus Ägypten." *UF* 35: 605–27.

Scholem, Gershom. 1965. "Kabbalah and Myth." Pp. 87–117 in *On the Kabbalah and Its Symbolism*. Translated by R. Manheim. New York: Schocken.

Schwartz, Benjamin I. 1975. "The Age of Transcendence." *Daedalus* 104: 1–7.

Schwemer, Daniel. 2001. *Die Wettergottgestalten Mesopotamiens und Nordsyriens im Zeitalter der Keilschriftkulturen: Materialien und Studien nach den schriftlichen Quellen*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

———. 2008. "The Storm-gods of the Ancient Near East: Summary, Synthesis, Recent Studies." Part 2." *JANER* 8: 1–44.

Scurlock, JoAnn and Richard H. Beal, eds. 2013. *Creation and Chaos: A Reconsideration of Hermann Gunkel's Chaoskampf Hypothesis*. Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns.

Segal, Charles. 1994. *Singers, Heroes, and Gods in the Odyssey*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

Segert, Stanislav. 1958. "Die Schreibfehler in den ugaritischen literarischen Keilschrifttexten in Anschluss an das textkritische Hilfsbuch von Friedrich Delitzsch klassifiziert." Pp. 193–212 in *Von Ugarit nach Qumran: Beiträge zur alttestamentlichen und altorientalischen Forschung*. Edited by J. Hempel and L. Rost. BZAW 77. Berlin: Töpelmann.

Seri, Andrea. 2006. "The Fifty Names of Marduk in *Enuma elish*." *JAOS* 126: 507–19.

———. 2014. "Borrowings to Create Anew: Intertextuality in the Babylonian Poem of 'Creation' (*Enuma elish*)." *JAOS* 134: 89–106.

Sewell, William H., Jr. 2005. *Logics of History: Social Theory and Social Transformation*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Shinan, Avigdor and Yair Zakovitch. 2012. *From Gods to God: How the Bible Debunked, Suppressed, or Changed Ancient Myths & Legends*. Translated by V. Zakovitch. Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society.

Shklovsky, Viktor. 1991. *Theory of Prose*. Translated by Benjamin Sher. Elmwood Park: Dalkey Archive Press.

Shoaps, Robin Ann. 2009. "Moral Irony and Moral Personhood in Sakapultek Discourse and Culture." Pp. 92–118 in *Stance: Sociolinguistic Perspectives*. Edited by A. Jaffe. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Singer, Itamar. 1996. *Muwatalli's Prayer to the Assembly of Gods Through the Storm-god of Lightning (CTH 381)*. ASORB 2. Atlanta: Scholar's Press.

———. 2002. *Hittite Prayers*. Edited by H. A. Hoffner, Jr. SBLWAW 11. Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature.

———. 2007. "Who Were the Kaška?" *Phasis* 10: 166–81.

———. 2011. *The Calm Before the Storm: Selected Writings of Itamar Singer on the End of the Late Bronze Age in Anatolia and the Levant*. Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature.

Smith, Jonathan Z. 1978. *Map Is Not Territory: Studies in the History of Religion*. Studies in Judaism in Late Antiquity. Leiden: Brill.

———. 1982. *Imagining Religion: From Babylon to Jonestown*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

———. 2004. *Relating Religion: Essays in the Study of Religion*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

———. 2010. "The Eternal Deferral." Pp. 215–37 in *Hermeneutics, Politics, and the History of Religions: The Continuing Legacies of Joachim Wach & Mircea Eliade*. Edited by C. K. Wedemeyer and W. Doniger. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Smith, Mark S. 2001a. *The Origins of Biblical Monotheism: Israel's Polytheistic Background and the Ugaritic Texts*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

———. 2001b. *Untold Stories: The Bible and Ugaritic Studies in the Twentieth Century*. Peabody: Hendrickson.

———. 2002. *The Early History of God: Yahweh and the Other Deities in Ancient Israel*. Second edition. Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans.

———. 2006. *The Ritual and Myths of the Feast of the Goodly Gods of KTU/CAT 1.23: Royal Constructions of Opposition, Intersection, Integration and Domination*. Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature.

———. 2008. *God in Translation: Deities in Cross-Cultural Discourse in the Biblical World*. FAT 57. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck.

———. 2014. *Poetic Heroes: Literary Commemorations of Warriors and Warrior Culture in the Early Biblical World*. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans.

Sonik, Karen. 2008. "Bad King, False King, True King: Apsû and His Heirs." *JAOS* 128: 737–43.

Spinoza, Baruch. 2007. *Theological-Political Treatise*. Edited by J. Israel. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Stadelmann, Rainer. 1967. *Syrisch-Palästinensische Gottheiten in Ägypten*. Probleme der Ägyptologie 5. Leiden: Brill.

Starke, Frank. 1977. *Die Funktionen der dimensionalen Kasus und Adverbien im Althethitischen*. StBoT 23. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

———. 1996. "Zur 'Regierung' des hethitischen Staates." *ZABR* 2: 140–82.

Steiner, Gerd. 1989. "'Schiffe von Aḫḫiyawa' oder 'Kriegsschiffe' von Amurru im Šauškamuwa-Vertrag?" *UF* 21: 393–411.

Strauss, Leo. 1959. *What Is Political Philosophy?* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Strenski, Ivan. 1992. *Malinowski and the Work of Myth*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Tadmor, Hayim. 1986. "Monarchy and the Elite in Assyria and Babylonia: The Question of Royal Accountability." Pp. 203–24 in *The Origins and Diversity of Axial Age Civilizations*. Edited by S. N. Eisenstadt. Albany: State University of New York Press.

Talon, Philippe. 2005. *Enūma Eliš: Introduction, Cuneiform Text, Transliteration, and Sign List with a Translation and Glossary in French*. SAACT 4. Helsinki: Neo-Assyrian Text Corpus Project.

Tambiah, Stanley J. 1990. *Magic, Science, Religion, and the Scope of Rationality*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Taylor, Charles. 2007. *A Secular Age*. Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press.

Taylor, Paul. 2011. "Henri Frankfort, Aby Warburg and 'Mythopoeic Thought'." *Journal of Art Historiography* 5: 1–16.

Texier, Charles. 1839. *Description de l'Asie mineure faite par l'ordre du gouvernement français, de 1833 à 1837*. Vol. 1. Paris: Institut de France.

Thureau-Dangin, François. 1935. "Une Lettre assyrienne à Ras Shamra." *Syria* 16: 188–93.

Tischler, Johann. 1983. *Hethitisches Etymologisches Glossar*. 20 vols. Innsbruck: Innsbrucker Beiträge zur Sprachwissenschaft.

Tropper, Josef. 2003. "Ein Haus für Baal: Schwierige Passagen in KTU 1.4 IV-V." *UF* 35: 649–56.

Tugendhaft, Aaron. 2010. "On *ym* and ^{d}A.AB.BA at Ugarit." *UF* 42: 697–712.

———. 2016. "Gods on Clay: Ancient Near Eastern Scholarly Practices and the History of Religions." Pp. 164–82 in *Canonical Texts and Scholarly Practices: A Global Comparative Approach*. Edited by A. Grafton and G. Most. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Uehlinger, Christoph. 1999. "Leviathan." Pp. 511–15 in *Dictionary of Deities and Demons in the Bible*. Edited by K. van der Toorn, B. Becking, and P. W. van der Horst. Second edition. Leiden: Brill.

Van De Mieroop, Marc. 2007. *The Eastern Mediterranean in the Age of Ramesses II*. Malden: Blackwell.

———. 2015. *Philosophy Before the Greeks: The Pursuit of Truth in Ancient Babylonia*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

van den Hout, Theo P. J. 1995. "Tuthaliya IV und die Ikonographie hethitischer Grosskönige des 13. Jhs." *BiOr* 52: 546–73.

———. 2007. "Seals and Sealing Practices in Hatti-Land: Remarks à Propos the Seal Impressions From the *Westbau* in Ḫattuša." *JAOS* 127: 339–48.

van Soldt, Wilfred H. 1988. "The Title T̲'Y." *UF* 20: 313–21.

———. 1991. *Studies in the Akkadian of Ugarit: Dating and Grammar*. AOAT 40. Kevelaer: Butzon & Bercker; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchen Verlag.

———. 1995. "Babylonian Lexical, Religious and Literary Texts and Scribal Education at Ugarit and Its Implications for the Alphabetic Literary Texts." Pp. 171–212 in *Ugarit: Ein ostmediterranes Kulturzentrum im Alten Orient, vol. 1: Ugarit und seine altorientalische Umwelt*. Edited by M. Dietrich and O. Loretz. Abhandlungen zur Literatur Alt-Syrien-Palästinas 7. Münster: Ugarit-Verlag.

———. 2000. "Private Archives at Ugarit." Pp. 229–45 in *Interdependency of Institutions and Private Entrepreneurs: Second MOS Symposium (Leiden 1998)*. Edited by A. C. V. M. Bongenaar. PIHANS 87. Leiden: Nederlands Historisch-Archaeologisch Instituut te Istanbul.

———. 2012a. "More on Abbreviated Personal Names From Ugarit." Pp. 197–213 in *The Perfumes of Seven Tamarisks: Studies in Honour of Wilfred G. E. Watson*. Edited by G. del Olmo Lete, J. Vidal, and N. Wyatt. AOAT 394. Münster: Ugarit-Verlag.

———. 2012b. "Why Did They Write? On Empires and Vassals in Syria and Palestine in the Late Bronze Age." Pp. 103–14 in *Theory and Practice of Knowledge Transfer: Studies in School Education in the Ancient Near East and Beyond. Papers Read at a Symposium in Leiden, 17–19 December 2008*. Edited by W. S. van Egmond and W. H. van Soldt. Leiden: NINO.

———. 2016. "The Travelling Queen of Ugarit." Pp. 109–117 in *Études Ougaritiques IV*. Ras Shamra-Ougarit XXIV. Edited by V. Matoîan and M. Al-Maqdissi. Leuven: Peeters.

Veldhuis, Niek. 2004. *Religion, Literature, and Scholarship: The Sumerian Composition Nanše and the Birds*. Cuneiform Monographs 22. Leiden: Brill.

———. 2014. *History of the Cuneiform Lexical Tradition*. Guides to the Mesopotamian Textual Record 6. Münster: Ugarit-Verlag.

Vernant, Jean-Pierre. 1982. *The Origins of Greek Thought*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

———. 1990. *Myth and Society in Ancient Greece*. Translated by J. Lloyd. New York: Zone Books.

Virolleaud, Charles. 1941. "Cinq tablettes accadiennes de Ras Shamra." *RA* 38: 1–12.

Voegelin, Eric. 2001. *Order and History, vol. 1: Israel and Revelation*. Vol. 14 of *The Collected Works of Eric Voegelin*. Edited by M. P. Hogan. Columbia: University of Missouri Press.

Wagner, Peter. 2005. "Palomar's Questions: The Axial Age Hypothesis, European Modernity and Historical Contingency." Pp. 87–106 in *Axial Civilization and World History*. Edited by J. P. Arnason, S. N. Eisdenstadt, and B. Wittrock. Leiden: Brill.

Walls, Neal H. 1992. *The Goddess Anat in Ugaritic Myth*. SBLDS 135. Atlanta: Scholars Press.

Wazana, Nili. 2001. "Border Descriptions and Cultural Barriers." Pp. 696–710 in *Akten des IV. Internationalen Kongresses für Hethitologie*. Edited by G. Wilhelm. StBoT 45. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

West, Martin L. 1997. *The East Face of Helicon: West Asiatic Elements in Greek Poetry and Myth*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Wilcke, Claus. 1974. "Politische Opposition nach sumerischen Quellen: der Konflikt zwischen Königtum und Ratsversammlung. Literaturwerke als politische Tendenzschriften." Pp. 37–65 in *La Voix de l'opposition en Mésopotamie*. Edited by A. Finet. Brussels: Institut des Hautes Études de Belgique.

———. 1993. "Politik im Spiegel der Literatur, Literatur als Mittel der Politik im älteren Babylonien." Pp. 29–75 in *Anfänge politischen Denkens in der Antike*. Edited by K. Raaflaub. Munich: Oldenbourg.

Wilson, James K. 2005. "Notes on the Assyrian Pharmaceutical Series URU.AN.NA : *MAŠTAKAL*." *JNES* 64: 45–51.

Wright, G. Ernest. 1952. *God Who Acts: Biblical Theology as Recital*. London: SCM Press.

Wyatt, Nicolas. 1996. *Myths of Power: A Study of Royal Myth and Ideology in Ugaritic and Biblical Traditions*. Ugaritisch-Biblische Literatur 13. Münster: Ugarit-Verlag.

———. 1997. "Ilimilku's Ideological Programme: Ugaritic Royal Propaganda, and a Biblical Postscript." *UF* 29: 775–96.

———. 2002a. "Ilimilku the Theologian: The Ideological Roles of Athtar and Baal in KTU 1.1 and 1.6." Pp. 845–56 in *Ex Mesopotamia et Syria Lux. Festschrift für Manfried Dietrich zu seinem 65. Geburtstag*. Edited by O. Loretz, K. A. Metzler, and H. Schaudig. AOAT 281. Münster: Ugarit-Verlag.

———. 2002b. "What Has Ugarit to Do With Jerusalem?" *Studies in World Christianity* 8: 138–60.

———. 2005a. "The Religious Role of the King in Ugarit." *UF* 37: 695–727.

———. 2005b. *There's Such Divinity Doth Hedge a King: Selected Essays of Nicolas Wyatt on Royal Ideology in Ugaritic and Old Testament Literature*. Burlington: Ashgate.

Xella, Paolo. 1991. "Tradition orale et rédacion écrite au Proche-Orient ancien: Le Cas des textes mythologiques d'Ugarit." Pp. 69–89 in *Phoinikeia Grammata. Lire et écrire en Méditerranée. Actes du Colloque de Liège 1989*. Edited by C. Baurain, C. Bonnet, and V. Krings. Namur: Société des études classiques.

Young, Ian. 1998. "The 'Archaic' Poetry of the Pentateuch in the MT, Samaritan Pentateuch, and 4QExod-c." *Abr-Nahrain* 35: 74–83.

———. 2003. "Late Biblical Hebrew and Hebrew Inscriptions." Pp. 276–311 in *Biblical Hebrew: Studies in Chronology and Typology*. Edited by I. Young. London: T & T Clark.

Zaccagnini, Carlo. 1990. "The Forms of Subjugation in the Near East of the Late Bronze Age." Pp. 37–79 in *I Trattati nel mondo antico: forma, ideologia, funzione*. Edited by L. Canfora, M. Liverani, and C. Zaccagnini. Rome: "L'Erma" di Bretschneider.

Ziegler, Nele. 2002. "Le Royaume d'Ekallâtum et son horizon géopolitique." *FM* 6: 211–68.

Taylor & Francis
Taylor & Francis Group
http://taylorandfrancis.com

Index

Page numbers in italic indicate a figure and page numbers in bold indicate a table on the corresponding page.

Abdi-Ashirta **xv**, 117, 124n57
Adad: of Aleppo 48, 50–3, 55, 60n37; of Kallassu 53, 59n37; message to Zimri-Lim 47–57; *see also* storm-god (Adad)
Adad-nirari I **xv**, 33, 106–7
age of criticism 24n30
Akhenaten *see* Amenhotep IV
akītu festival 73, 78n68
Akkadian of Ugarit 6, 11, 12, 28, 31–33, 36, 42n19, 42n27, 43n33, 44n48, 65–70, 75n13, 119
Alashiya 102–3, 109, 123n48
Albright, W. F. 12–13, 15, 22n6, 29, 47, 63
Alter, Robert 123n52
Amenhotep II 92
Amenhotep III **xv**, 102, 121n10
Amenhotep IV (Akhenaten) **xv**, 103, 121n12, 121n19–20
Ammistamru I **xv**
Ammistamru II **xv**, 8, 30, 33, 43n37, 44n45, 124n62, 130
Ammurapi **xv**, 133n32
Anat (warrior goddess) 5, 6, 98n41, 101–2, 108, 110, 115, 120n5, 136
Anatolia 1, 19, 27, 91
Anaximander 24n28
Aqhat Epic 29, 31, **34**, 41n11, 122n36, 123n51
Arnaud, Daniel 42n18, 77n40
Arnuwanda I 98n43
Arnuwanda II **xv**
Arnuwanda III **xv**
Aspetti della regalità ittita nel XIII secolo a.C. (Giorgieri and Mora) 128
Assmann, Jan 24n30, 132n12
Assur-uballit **xv**, 105
Assyria 5, 7, 27, 31, 33, *35*, 36, 49, 74, 103–10, 117, 121n20, 121n21, 121n23, 123n40, 129–30
"Astarte Papyrus" 92–3, 99n57
Athirat 5, 36, 70, 115; sons of 6, 101, 102, 115–17
Athtart 44n54, 84–6, 97n26, 136
authority 6, 7, 25n34, 26n50, 44n49, 55, 60n39, 61n44, 82, 84, 96, 105, 112; crisis of 87–95
Axial Age 8, 16–17, 24n30, 24n31, 25n34
Aziru **xv**, 117–19, 124n62

Baal *see* storm-god (Baal); Ugaritic Baal Cycle
Bakhtin, Mikhail 58n24, 122n33
Ballentine, Debra Scoggins 41n7, 57n5
Barthes, Roland 17, 18, 25n35
Bauer, Hans 11
Bazin, André 19
Beckman, Gary 120n7
Being and Time (Heidegger) 13
Bellah, Robert 16
Belu-bur 31–4, *35*, 36; identified with Belu-libur 33
Benjamin, Walter 25n42
Benteshina **xv**, 86, 124n62, 128
Berger, Peter 17, 18, 25n36, 25n37, 25n39
Bible 6, 12–13, 15, 22n6, 22–3, 23n15, 37, 40, 45n61, 63, 64, 69, 74, 75n2, 87–90, 96n14, 115; Baal in 12; Ugaritic studies and 6, 19, 22n5, 28; *see also* biblical Hebrew, monotheism
biblical Hebrew 6, 11, 28, 83
Bing, Gertrude 23n26
borders 2, 5, 39–40, 45n59, 50, 51, 56, 98n49

Brecht, Bertolt 25n42
Bronze Age 4–7, 19, 26n47, 27–8, 36–7, 48, 86, 95; Baal Cycle and politics of 27–40, 127, 130–1; international ideology of 109–10; kingship from gods 39–40, 48; kinship and political relations 112, 119; myth in 125
Blumenberg, Hans 25n36
Buber, Martin 23n26
Buddha 16
Butler, Judith 24n34

Canaanites 12–13, 22n6, 26n47, 28, 47, 64, 111
Cassirer, Ernst 13–17, 20–1, 23n26, 125–7
Cassuto, Umberto 40n2
Confucius 16
consciousness (and myth) 14–19
cosmogony 7, 20, 47, 63–4, 69, 70, 72, 78n55
Cross, Frank Moore 13, 22n9, 22n11, 26n47, 28, 63–4, 69–70, 75n5, 78n55, 83, 111, 123n40

Dagan 44n54, 51–2, 58n15, 58n17–20
Dagan-ba'li 67–8
Dagan's son 81–2, 135–6
Dasein 13, 16
deity lists 58n15, 65–70, 75n9, 75n11, 75n12, 75, 76n13, 76n15, 77n40, 77n41, 77n47
Delitzsch, Friedrich 63, 75n1
del Olmo Lete, Gregorio 75n13, 111, 114
de-reification 18, 24n50
Dhorme, Père Edouard 11
diplomatic correspondence 12, 27, 38, 44n48, 60n39, 105, 121n11
divine combat 7, 47–57, 64
divine embrace 1, 8, 10n3, 128
Divine Warrior 111
Durand, Jean-Marie 47, 56, 57n2, 57n5, 58n20, 59n37
Dussaud, René 40n2

Ehli-Teshub: *35*, 43n36
Eliade, Mircea 28, 72–4
Enlightenment 20, 21, 23n22
Enuma elish (Babylonian creation epic) 47, 63–6, 69–73, 75n6, 77n46, 78n63, 79, 86, 93–5, 97n33; Cassirer and 21, 125
envoy scene: Baal Cycle 10n6, 79, 81, 84, 86–7, 95, 97n21, 112, 135–6
Evans-Pritchard, E. E. 14–15

First World War 11
Fishbane, Michael 22n9, 23n15
Ford, John 19, 127
Frankfort, Henri 8, 15, 16, 23n26, 24n28
fugitives 87, 89–95, 98n41, 98n43, 98n49, 108
Future of Illusion, The (Kahn) 126

Geertz, Clifford 25n39
Ginsberg, H. L. 40n2, 83
Gilgamesh Epic 66–7, 76n23
Giorgieri, Mauro 128
Götternamen (Usener) 15
Gordon, Peter 16, 21
Gottwald, Norman 22n11
Graf, Fritz 22n15
Gramsci, Antonio 25n36
Great Kings 5, 27, 79, 91, 103, 105–6, 117, 121n9, 121, 122n23, 129, 132n27
Greenfield, Jonas 37, 38, 69, 79, 83
Greenstein, Ed 29, 41n11
Groenewegen-Frankfort, Henriette Antonia 15
Gunkel, Hermann 63

Habermas, Jürgen 24–5n34
Hatti *see* Hittites
Hattusili III **xv**, 86, 103, 106–7, 109, 121n14, 122n24, 124n62, 128–9, 133
Hawley, Robert 36, 77n40, 77n41, 90
Healey, John F. 75n13
hegemony 25n36, 127
Heidegger, Martin 13, 16, 17
Hephaestus 39
Hera 45n60
Hesiod 40, 65
Hittite-Assyrian War 33, 36, 107–8, 130
Hittites: brotherly status and 103, 106–7, 117–19; empire 7, 36, 42n19, 117, 127–31; kings 2, 4, 7–8, 39, 106–8, 117–19, 121–2n23, 127–9; relation to Ugarit 5, 8, 31, 33, 43n33, 43n34, 44n40, 91; ritual 39; theology of kingship 1–3, 7–8; treaties 81, 91, 97n18, 98n43, 98n49, 119
Hobbes, Thomas 108
Homer 38–9, 45n60
homo faber 20, 21
homo religiosus 20
House of Rap'anu 19
House of the High Priest 12, 31
House of Urtenu 6, 19, 31, 33, 42n16, 43n33
Huehnergard, John 68

Ibiranu **xv**, 33, *35*, 36, 130
iconography 1, 10n3, 128

ideology 6, 17, 25n35, 28, 30, 64, 73, 96, 110, 127, 131; of kingship 37, 47, 48, 57n5
Iliad (Homer) 38–9
Ilimilku: network of **34**, *35*; political career 31–6, 43n37, 132n13; political teaching 7–8, 37, 38, 40, 44n42, 96n2, 101, 111, 119–20, 127–8, 130–1; scribe of the Baal Cycle 5, 29, 31, 41n11, 42n16, 44n42; ties to the trading firm 43n36
Intellectual Adventure of Ancient Man, The (Frankfort *et al*) 15, 24n28, 24n31
international politics, poetic imagery for 37–40
Iron Age 27, 89
irony 25n40
Ishme-Dagan 49
Itur-Mer 50–1, 58n13, 58n15

Jacobsen, Thorkild 24n31
Jaspers, Karl 16, 23–4n28

Kadashman-Enlil 102–3, 113, 121n11
Kadashman-Turgu 103
Kahn, Victoria 126
Kantorowicz, Ernst H. 126, 131–2n7
Kashka 39
Kaufmann, Yehezkel 22n11
Kila'e 33, **34**, *35*
king lists 42n18
King's Two Bodies, The (Kantorowicz) 126
kinship 101; Baal fighting kin group 112; David and son Absalom 115, 123–4n54; El's group 114; international 110; norms of 110; political metaphor 37–8, 96; relationships and rivalries 37; ritual practices 123n51; term 7, 83, 108, 124n62; traditions of 119–20
Kirta Epic 31, **34**, 41n11, 69
Kothar (craftsman deity) 5, 38, 39, 44n54, 80–1, 97n22, 112; construction of Baal's palace 6; construction of Yamm's palace 85, 112
Kronos 40
Kumarbi 65, 92
Kumiya-ziti 33
Kuruntiya 129, 132n27

law 33, 45n60, 91–3, 95, 110, 120n7, 127
Lear, Jonathan 132n12
legal fiction 95, 126–7
legitimacy 6, 8, 48, 57n5, 70, 72, 84, 93, 102, 106, 109–10; in *Enuma elish* 94–5; Hittite crisis of 7, 122n24, 128
lexical lists 12
Lincoln, Bruce 25n35, 82, 84
Listwissenschaft 75n10
Liverani, Mario 28, 129
Lotan 113–14, 123n49
Louis Philippe I 1
Luckmann, Thomas 17, 18, 25n37

Mahabharata 5
Mahaza **xv**, 124n62
Malinowski, Bronislaw 20, 23n23
Man Who Shot Liberty Valance, The (film) 19, 26n46
Maori cosmogony 20
maps: middle Assyrian Kingdom *104*; Hittite territories in Syria *xviii*; near East in Late Bronze Age *xvii*
Marduk 21, 63–5, 69, 70–1, 79, 86–7, 94–5, 125
"Mare and Horon, The" (Ugaritic poetic text) 44n54
Mari 7, 25n34, 38, 47–61, 78n51, 81, 120n6, 123n51
Marquéz Rowe, Ignacio 77n41
Mashuiluwa 91–2
Mauss, Marcel 26n50
Merneptah **xv**, 130
Miller, Jared 132n28
Momigliano, Arnaldo 24n30
monotheism 8, 12, 13, 15, 20, 22n15
Mora, Clelia 128
Mot (god of underworld) 4, 5–6, 37, 65, 111–14
Mursili II **xv**, 39, 91, 119, 122n37
Mursili III (Urhi-Teshub) **xv**, 2, 103, 106, 108, 122n24, 124n62, 128–9
Muwatalli II **xv**, 1, *4*, 86, 128–9
Muwaziti *35*, 44n40
myth 6–7, 11–26, 47–9, 57; as ideology in narrative form 25n35; Barthes' definition of 17–18; Eliade on 72–4; modern politics and 21, 125–7; Ugaritic 27–8, 63–4, 92, 111
Myth of the Eternal Return, The (Eliade) 72, 74, 78n63
"Myth of the Plow, The" 66
Myth of the State, The (Cassirer) 20, 125, 126, 131n3
Mythologies (Barthes) 17

Nahar (divine name) 81–2, 84–5, 135–6
National Socialism 20, 125
Nazism *see* National Socialism
Nietzsche, Friedrich 17, 18

Nihriya, battle of 107, 129–30
Niqmaddu II **xv**, 30, 42n18, 42n19, 96n3, 124n62
Niqmaddu III **xv**, 30, 31, 33, *35*, 36, 37, 42n15, 42n18, 42n19, 43n33, 43n36–7, 44n42, 127, 130–1, 133n32
Niqmepa **xv**, 91, 119
Nougayrol, Jean 66, 67, 75n11, 75n13, 76n15, 76n25
Numenu *see* Nu'me-Rashap
Nu'me-Rashap 33, *35*, 43n36–7
Nur-Sin 48–50, 53–5, 57n7, 59n32, 59–60n37

oaths 128–30, 132n28
Old Babylonian Period 7, 40, 48, 58n17
Oldenburg, Ulf 29
Oppenheim, Leo 29
Order and History (Voegelin) 24n31
Origins of Greek Thought, The (Vernant) 24n28
Otto, Rudolph 24n31

pan-Babylonianism 15, 23n24
Panhellenism 39
Pardee, Dennis 29, 36, 57n2, 79n9, 83, 85–7, 96n14, 96n2, 97n21–2, 120n5
Paris-Match (magazine) 17
Philosophy of Symbolic Forms, The (Cassirer) 13–14, 15, 20
Pippin, Robert 19, 125
Pitard, Wayne 37, 38, 65, 101, 109
Plato 18, 20
political theology 7, 8, 126
polytheism 12, 22n9, 38
primitive democracy 26n47
primordial time 65, 70

Qingu 70, 94
Queen of Hatti 133n28
Queen of Ugarit 31–2, 33, **34**, *35*, 90–1, 98n48, 98n49

Rainey, Anson 26n47
Ranulf, Svend 26n50
Ras Shamra (Fennel Mound) 11, 19; Akkadian texts 28; discoveries at 12; map of tell *32*; texts from 13; *see also* Ugarit
religion 5, 38; Canaanite 12, 13; consciousness or 17, 18; historians of 14, 15, 20, 22n15, 28; Israelite 12, 13, 22n11, 28, 40n2; myth and 131n3
Religion in Human Evolution (Bellah) 16
Republic (Plato) 17
Rib-Hadda 117, 124n57
Richard II (Shakespeare) 126–7, 132n8, 132n9
Roche-Hawley, Carole 36, 68
Rorty, Richard 25n40

Sahlins, Marshall 119
Samsi-Addu 48–50, 54, 56, 57n8, 61n45, 61n49
Sanders, Seth 36
Sasson, Jack 59n24
Saxl, Fritz 23n26
Schaeffer, C.F.A. 11, 18
Schelling, F.W.J. 22n15, 22n9
Schloen, David 24n31, 37, 44n49
Schöpfung und Chaos in Urzeit und Endzeit (Gunkel) 63
Scholem, Gershom 22–3n15
Schwemer, Daniel 57n5
scribal culture 12, 29–30, 35, 41n12
sea-god (Yamm) 5, 68; Baal and 5–7, 37, 65, 69–72; Baal fighting 4, 7, 85–6, 111–12; Baal's response to message 84; claim to authority 82–3; collapsing figures of 111; death of 86; El enthroning 80–1; instructions to messengers 81–2; Lotan and 113–14, 123n49; in Ugaritic narrative 66
Second World War 11, 19, 20, 72, 74
self-consciousness 19
Seth (Egyptian god) 92–3, 99n58, 99n62
Sewell, William 25n39
Shakespeare, William 126–7
Shalmaneser I **xv**, 33, 107
Shapsh (sun-goddess) 5–6, 44n54, 85, 111–12, 115–17
Shaushgamuwa of Amurru **xv**, 103, 124n62, 128, 130
Shklovsky, Viktor 18
Shoaps, Robin 60n41
Sidon 33, **34**, *35*, 124n58
Smith, Jonathan Z. 20, 23n23, 28, 73
Smith, Mark S. 37, 38, 57n5, 64–5, 79, 83, 87, 97n26, 101, 109
Socrates 17, 24n28, 24n33
"Song of the Sea" (Hurro-Hittite poem) 92, 93, 99n57
sovereignty 4, 6, 55–6, 70, 79, 82–4, 95, 121n11, 129, 130–31
Storia di Ugarit nell'eta degli archivi politici (Liverani) 28
storm-god (Adad) battle with sea 47–8
storm-god (Baal) 1–2, 5, 12, 101; attitude of El 117, 120; battle with sea 27,

123n42; Mot and 114; return to throne 110; victory over Yamm 109, 111–13
Sumerian 11, 26n47, 66
Sumu-Ila 52, 59n25
Sumu-Lanasi 49–50, 58n11
Sumu-Yamam 61n45
Suppiluliuma I **xv**, 5, 30, 42n19, 91, 96n3, 118–19, 122n37, 124n62, 129
Suppiluliuma II 42n19
symbols 14, 17, 24n31, 24, 25n34, 25n36, 25n39, 55, 73

Taylor, Charles 24n34
Temple of Baal 12
Teroarea Istoriei (The Terror of History) 72
terror of history 72, 74
Texier, Charles 1, *2*, 8, 131
Theogony (Hesiod) 40, 65
Theological-Political Treatise (Spinoza) 74
Tiamat 21, 47, 93; in *Enuma elish* 64, 69–71, 77n46, 86–7, 93–4; iconography of 123n49; Marduk's defeat of 63–5, 69, 71, 79, 94, 125
totalitarianism 125
translatability of deities 75n10
Treasures of Darkness, The (Jacobsen) 24n31
treaties 5, 6, 27, 37, 42n19, 81, 91, 96n3, 97n18, 98n43, 98n49, 103, 110, 117–19, *118*, 121n13, 122n37, 124n62, 132n27
tribute 37–8, 42n19, 50, 82, 88, 92, 93, 98n56, 121n11, 136
Tudhaliya IV 1–2, 103, 107, 128, 130; edict of 8, *9*, 30; Ilimilku's network *35*; rock relief of *3*
Tukulti-Ninurta **xv**, 33, *35*, *104*, 107, 108, 122n33, 130
Tutankhamun **xv**, 121n20
Tyre 124n58

Ugarit: 5; axial age and 24n31; discovery of 11–12, 21n1; politics of 18, 27, 37, 75, 91, 130–1; society of 31, 35; treaty stele from *118*; vernacular literature of 36–7; *see also* Ras Shamra
Ugaritic alphabet 42n14, 42n19, 44n42, 66, 68
Ugaritic Baal Cycle: 4–8; audience of 5, 6, 7, 27, 40, 84, 96, 102, 109–10, 127, 130–1; Baal's quest for legitimacy 109–10; battle of Seth-Baal and the sea 93; Book of Samuel and 89; Bronze Age politics and 27–40; cosmogony 63–4, 73, 74–5; divine combat 47; divine foundation of politics 127, 130–1; Divine Warrior 111; El's allegiance 119–20; *Enuma elish* and 47, 63–5, 69, 71, 75n6, 79, 93–5; envoy scene 10n6, 79, 81, 84, 86–7, 95, 97n21, 112, 135–6; house like the gods 101–3; interactions between deities 36; kinship ethics 115; linguistic analysis 41n11; link between Mari letter and 47, 57n2; Lotan and Yamm in 113–14, 123n49; Maori cosmogony and 20; political ideas 27; as myth 18–19; queen of Ugarit's letter 90–1; reflection on political institutions 79; sea-god's demands 92; second tablet of *80*; tradition of studying 29–31
Ugaritic language 6, 11, 12, 21n3, 29, 43n29, 66, 83, 84, 89, 96n16, 98n56
Ugaritic literature 5, 12, 13, 20, 22n5, 26n47, 27–30, 44n42, 69
Urhi-Teshub *see* Mursili III
Urmonotheismus 20
Urtenu 31, 33, **34**, *35*, 43n36, 67; *see also* House of Urtenu
Ur-Teshub *35*, 43n36–7, 43n39, 103, 106, 109, 122n24
Usener, Hermann 15
Ushnatu 33, **34**, *35*, 124n58

van Soldt, Wilfred 42n19, 43n34, 43n36–7, 77n40–1
Vernant, Jean-Pierre 24n28, 45n60
Virolleaud, Charles 11, 22n6, 40n2, 79
Voegelin, Eric 24n31

Warad-ili-shu 53, 60n37
Warburg, Aby 14
West, Cornel 24n34
world history, axis of 16–17
Wright, G. Ernest 22n11
Wyatt, Nicolas 57n5

Yahdun-Lim 48, 50–1, 56, 58n11, 61n45, 61n49
Yahweh 64–5, 69, 111
Yahweh and the Gods of Canaan (Albright) 12
Yamhad, relationship with Mari 48, 51, 53–5

Yamm *see* sea-god (Yamm)
Yarim-Lim 53, 54–5; letter to Yashub-Yahad 51–2; reigns of and son Hammurabi 59–60n37; weapons of Adad and 58–9n24; Zimri-Lim and 60n39, 61n44
Yashub-Yahad, Yarim-Lim's letter to 51–2, 58n24
Yasmah-Addu 49, 61n45, 61n49
Yazılıkaya 1–3, 8, *9*
Yumras-El 49–50
Zalpa, Old Hittite tale of 89–90
Zeus 39, 40, 45n60
Zimri-Lim (king of Mari) 47; Adad's letter to 55–7; coronation of 52; letter from Aleppo 48–9; relationship to god Adad of Aleppo 51–2; rise to kingship 49, 53–4; seal 51; statue in Yamhad 53; Sumu-Lanasi and 49–51; upbringing of 54–5
Zithariya (Hittite deity) 39
Zoroastrian scriptures 15
Zuzuli 33, **34**, *35*, 43n33

Text concordance

CTH 19 122n24
CTH 26 97n18
CTH 46 96n3
CTH 49 124n61
CTH 51 122n37
CTH 66 122n63
CTH 67 122n37
CTH 68 122n37
CTH 69 122n37
CTH 81 122n24, 132n17
CTH 91 121n13
CTH 92 124n62
CTH 105 121n15, 133n29
CTH 133 98n43
CTH 171 121n22
CTH 172 121n13
CTH 173 109, 122n25
CTH 255 132n20, 132n24
CTH 360 44n54
CTH 376 45n58

KTU 1.1 38, 71, 78n56, 80, 81, 83, 96n9, 112, 123n43, 123n45
KTU 1.2 36, 37, 71, 79, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 90, 95, 97n21, 97n22, 98n56, 112, 116, 117, 123n45, 129, 135–6
KTU 1.3 26n46, 78n56, 96n16, 120n1, 121n9, 123n43
KTU 1.4 36, 44n42, 78n56, 86, 101, 102, 111, 113, 123n43, 123n45, 123n47
KTU 1.5 37, 97n30, 111, 113, 114, 123n43, 123n45, 123n47, 124n53
KTU 1.6 42n21, 98n41, 110, 111, 115, 116, 123n43, 123n45, 123n53
KTU 1.8 120n1
KTU 1.14 69
KTU 1.17 122n36, 123n51
KTU 1.23 76n17
KTU 1.39 77n47
KTU 1.46 77n47
KTU 1.47 75n11
KTU 1.100 44n54
KTU 1.118 75n11
KTU 1.148 75n11, 77n47
KTU 1.162 77n47
KTU 2.39 96n6
KTU 2.72 98n47
KTU 3.1 37, 42n19
KTU 3.3 76n37, 77n49
KTU 3.4 43n37
KTU 4.7 76n37, 77n49
KTU 4.75 77n49
KTU 4.103 76n37, 77n49
KTU 4.116 77n49
KTU 4.126 77n49, 78n56
KTU 4.141 77n50
KTU 4.258 77n50
KTU 4.261 77n50
KTU 4.340 77n50
KTU 4.341 76n37, 77n49
KTU 4.381 77n50
KTU 4.609 77n50
KTU 4.635 77n50

RS 1.017 75n11, 75n12
RS 2.002 76n17
RS 3.346 85, 97n21
RS 3.367 85, 97n21
RS 6.198 43n28
RS 7.116 *118*
RS 8.315 98n47
RS 10.046 124n62
RS 11.722+ 42n19
RS 11.723 124n58
RS 11.856 43n37
RS 11.858 76n37
RS 13.7B 96n6
RS 15.14 44n48
RS 15.128 76n37
RS 16.112 44n48

RS 16.134 43n37
RS 16.191+ 43n37
RS 16.257 77n37
RS 17.59 133n30
RS 17.112 43n31
RS 17.116 124n62
RS 17.130 96n6
RS 17.132 96n6
RS 17.133 96n6
RS 17.159 10n7
RS 17.289 133n30
RS 17.244 44n40
RS 17.248 43n36
RS 17.289 96n6
RS 17.292 96n6
RS 17.385 96n6
RS 17.423 96n6
RS 18.028 76n37
RS 18.038 96n6
RS 18.20+ 43n32
RS 19.070 43n31
RS 19.68 124n62
RS 20.024 67–9, 75n11, 75n12, 75, 76n13, 76n22, 77n41, 77n47
RS 20.22 96n6
RS 20.33 67, 76n25
RS 20.146 43n36
RS 20.174A 96n6
RS 20.184 44n48
RS 20.200C 44n48
RS 20.216 96n6
RS 20.231 76n22
RS 20.237 96n6
RS 20.243 44n48
RS 21.07A 43n37
RS 24.264+ 75n11, 75n12
RS 24.643 75n11, 75n12, 77n40
RS 25.422 76n22
RS 34.134 76n31, 76n32, 76n34, 76n35
RS 34.136 133n32
RS 34.141 76n32, 76n33
RS 34.149 124n58
RS 34.165 133n31
RS 34.173 76n31
RS 86.2212+ 124n58
RS 92.2004 75n12
RS 92.2006 76n32, 76n33, 76n34, 76n35
RS 94.2066 76n23, 76n29
RS 94.2091 124n62
RS 94.2174 124n58
RS 94.2175 43n36
RS 94.2182 124n58
RS 94.2187 124n58
RS 94.2287 124n58
RS 94.2352 43n33
RS 94.2361+ 43n36
RS 94.2369 124n58
RS 94.2375 43n33
RS 94.2396 124n58
RS 94.2409+ 44n40
RS 94.2412 43n36
RS 94.2445 124n58
RS 94.2483 43n39, 124n58
RS 94.2445 43n29, 43n38
RS 94.2591 124n58
RS 94.2597 124n62
RS 94.2598 124n58
RS 96.2039 98n45
RS [Varia 18] 76n37
RS [Varia 26] 76n32, 76n34, 76n35